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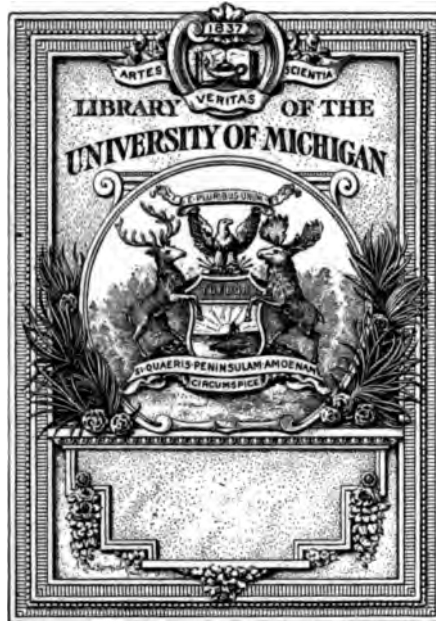
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THE POPE  
OF  
HOLLAND HOUSE

LADY SEYMOUR



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# THE "POPE" OF HOLLAND HOUSE

SELECTIONS FROM THE  
CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN  
WHISHAW AND HIS FRIENDS

1813—1840

EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY  
LADY SEYMOUR

WITH A MEMOIR OF WHISHAW AND AN  
ACCOUNT OF "THE KING OF CLUBS"  
BY W. P. COURTNEY

ILLUSTRATED

LONDON  
T. FISHER UNWIN  
1 ADELPHI TERRACE  
MCMVI

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## Preface

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THE correspondence from which the following selection has been made was found by Mr. Cosmo Romilly amongst the effects of his father, Mr. Charles Romilly, who was Mr. Whishaw's heir and executor.

In 1844 Mrs. Smith, of Easton Grey, sent all the letters written to her husband or herself to Charles Romilly with the accompanying letter :—

EASTON GREY,

*March 20, 1844.*

DEAR SIR,—It is very satisfactory to me to find by your kind letter that the arrangement mentioned by Mr. Mallet<sup>1</sup> respecting the letters of our dear and excellent friend, Mr. Whishaw, is so acceptable to yourself. I feel it would be impossible to give any final destination to these letters that could be so much approved by the writer, or the friend to whom they were addressed ; and in no family but yours, the adopted children of his affections, and his solitudes, could they be so safe. I would wish you to

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Mallet, Esq., son of Mallet du Pan.

## Preface

feel at perfect liberty to destroy any that you might think it desirable not to preserve. . . .

The remembrance of his affectionate friendship, so uniform and so long continued, will always be gratefully cherished by me.

I am, Dear Sir, sincerely yours,

ELIZABETH SMITH.

It would be well, perhaps, to give here some slight account of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Smith, of Easton Grey, with whom Whishaw kept up such a long and regular correspondence.

Their house in Wiltshire was the rendezvous of many of the distinguished men and women of the day.

In December, 1820, Maria Edgeworth writes as follows when on a visit there:—

“This house is delightful, in a beautiful situation, fine trees, fine valleys, and soft verdure even at this season: the library drawing-room, with low sofas, plenty of movable tables, open bookcases, and all that speaks the habits and affords the means of agreeable occupation. Easton Grey might be a happy model of what an English country gentleman’s house should be, and Mrs. Smith’s kind, well-bred manners, and Mr. Smith’s literary and sensible conversation, make this house one of the most agreeable I ever saw.”<sup>1</sup>

And again in June, 1822, on hearing of Mr. Smith’s death, “Oh, my dear mother, at this pretty flowery-lawned inn, where we dined on our way to Slough,

<sup>1</sup> “Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth,” by Aug. Hare, vol. ii. p. 25.

## Preface

as your brother was reading the newspaper, he came to the death of our dear Mr. Smith, of Easton Grey. At Sir Benjamin Hobhouse's, a few months ago, he was the gayest of the gay, and she the fondest and happiest of wives."<sup>1</sup>

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1822, records the death, at Whitton, in Suffolk, of Mr. Smith, and in a subsequent number writes as follows :—

"Mr. Smith was a native of Cirencester, and bred to the Bar; but from an impediment of speech, did not make a public exercise of his profession. He married early in life the daughter of the late — Chandler, Esq., of Gloucester; and first resided at Padhill, near Minchinhampton; from whence he removed to Bownhams, in the same vicinity; and lastly to Easton Grey, near Malmesbury, a seat and manor which he purchased of — Hodges, Esq. (Walter Parry Hodges),<sup>2</sup> of Bath. Here Mr. Smith resided till his decease, and was the Mécænas of his neighbourhood. He had an excellent judgment, much valuable acquired knowledge, an amiable temper, and a benevolent, useful turn of mind. To those who knew him, his loss is not the common transient regret which merely jars the feelings and is then forgotten, but a permanent melancholy, a sensation of loss not to be repaired.

"A well-informed, liberal-minded country gentleman, with a fondness for science, brings into estimation judicious modes of thinking in his vicinity, and

<sup>1</sup> "Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth," by Aug. Hare, vol. ii. p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Britton's "Beauties in England and Wales" (Wiltshire).

## Preface

promotes the improvement of it, while a mere Nimrod, or Butterfly, merely propagates barbarism or dissipation. Such a man as we have just described was Mr. Smith : a gentleman and philosopher in his pleasures and habits ; a philanthropist and public character in his forms of living and acting."<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Smith was also a person of much originality of character. She was a Unitarian, and therefore not much in sympathy with the ordinary county and clerical society, but was intimate both at Bowood with Lord and Lady Lansdowne, and at Gatcombe with Mr. Ricardo. She had a large and valuable library and collection of autographs, which were sold and dispersed at her death in 1859, for she lived to the great age of ninety-five.

The Smiths very rarely came to London, but were kept well informed by Mr. Whishaw on all political and literary subjects, as, owing to his intimacy at Holland House, he was acquainted with all the prominent Whig statesmen and writers of the day. But his interests were so varied and his knowledge so general, that he was consulted not only by politicians, but by travellers, authors, and men of science.

Sir James Mackintosh from his exile in Bombay asked for advice and help in his historical projects. Dr. Holland wrote from the Peninsula a long account of our army in Spain, and later, when at Naples with the Princess of Wales, gave a vivid picture of Murat's Court. Henry Warburton, who was more successful in geology than in politics, described his discoveries

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1822, page 91.

## Preface

of prehistoric remains in Suffolk. The Edgeworths discussed Mungo Park and the sources of the Niger. Hallam writes at length as to his grievances with Murray. Amongst other correspondents were Lord and Lady Holland and their faithful friend Allen, Sydney Smith, Francis Horner, Lady Mackintosh, and many others.

It is natural that the earlier letters should be principally concerned with Napoleon, the Allies, the Bourbons, and foreign politics ; but literature is never forgotten, and the poems of Scott and Byron, the Waverley novels as they appeared, and the articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, are all criticised and discussed for the benefit of the *coterie* at Easton Grey.

Mr. Whishaw was often abroad, but his letters during his travels are not of so much value to the modern reader as those that treat of the events of the day, and of the people he knew and constantly met. They are, therefore, not included in the present collection.

His was a singularly calm and dispassionate nature, and his judgment of people and events was eminently reasonable and moderate. Never carried away himself by passion or excitement, he was, however, keenly appreciative of the more ardent dispositions of his friends, and his staunch interest in their political or literary work never failed.

In a letter written by Leonard Horner to his daughter, Lady Lyell, in 1826, he alludes to him as "that worthy Mecænas of all men of true merit."<sup>1</sup>

The letters written to Mr. Whishaw (with the exception of those that bear directly on the questions

<sup>1</sup> "Memoirs of Leonard Horner" (privately printed).



## Preface

discussed by him with the Smiths) are in a separate chapter. Those written by him to his wards, the sons of Sir Samuel Romilly, are mostly of too intimate a nature for publication.

For Charles Romilly he had the love of a devoted father, and many of his letters show how much he was under the charm of a personality that many still remember as singularly winning and delightful. Charles Romilly's youth, spirits, and good looks must to a large degree have consoled the old bachelor for the loss of nearly all his contemporaries and friends, to whom he was so well known as "The Pope" of the Holland House set.

My thanks are due to Mr. Cosmo Romilly for allowing me full access to the letters, to Mr. W. P. Courtney for his valuable advice and able help, and to Mrs. Graham Smith for much interesting information about Easton Grey and its former inhabitants.

ELIZABETH SEYMOUR.

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1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city government.

# Introduction

## THE "POPE" OF HOLLAND HOUSE

### A MEMOIR OF JOHN WHISHAW

**M**ANY names of persons who have played important, though subsidiary, parts in life have been omitted by the compilers of the biographical dictionaries, even though the question of the memoirs which should be inserted, as was the case with the "Dictionary of National Biography," has been the subject of serious consideration on the part of many experts. The man who has filled the chief permanent post in a Government office for many years, and has been the guiding spirit of its representative in Parliament, either in the administration of its daily business or in the introduction of the measures which are required for the enlargement of its duties; the author whose works have been published without his name or without a blaze of advertisement; the trusted adviser behind the scenes in ecclesiastical or political life, specimens of all these classes may be searched for in such works without success. One such name is that of John Whishaw, author of a biography which

## Whishaw Family

entranced adventurous youth some sixty years since, trusted counsellor of the Whig leaders in their long years of exclusion from office, and a familiar figure in their social life during the brightest days of Holland House and Lansdowne House.

The family of Whishaw was for several generations connected with Cheshire. "Hugh Whishaw, of Middlewich, pleb.," is the first person of the name who is known to me as living in the county. His elder son, Hugh, matriculated from Brasenose College, Oxford, on March 26, 1697, took the usual degrees, and became an English clergyman, obtaining two livings in Shropshire and that of Dinton, in Lincolnshire (1731). The younger son, Thomas, matriculated from the same College in 1702, and after enjoying much preferment in the Church, held the first prebendal stall at Winchester Cathedral from 1739 until his death in 1756. Hugh Whishaw, the father of John Whishaw, practised as an attorney in Chester, and held the position of "seal-keeper of the county-palatine." His wife, whom he married at Prestbury, on March 21, 1763, was Mary Glegg, younger daughter of John Baskervyle, of Old Withington and Blackden, in Cheshire, member of a very ancient family in the county, who married Mary, daughter and heiress of Robert Glegg, of Gayton-in-Wirral, and on the father's death took the name of Glegg. She was baptised at Chelford on July 23, 1736, and buried at Goostry on September 2, 1793. The death of her husband, Hugh Whishaw, is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1780.

John Whishaw, their eldest son, was born at Chester,

## Whishaw at Cambridge

probably in 1764. His primary education was at the free grammar school of the adjoining town of Macclesfield, which was founded by Sir John Percival, Lord Mayor of London, in 1503 to benefit the place of his birth. It was amply endowed and several Acts of Parliament have been passed for the administration of the property and the extension of its original purposes. From about 1775 to 1800 it was the school to which the chief families in Cheshire and the surrounding counties sent their sons. James Parke, Lord Wensleydale, was the most famous of its old boys.

On July 4, 1783, at the age of 18, Whishaw was admitted pensioner at Trinity College, Cambridge, and on April 8, 1785, he took the oaths as scholar of the College. His degrees were B.A. in 1788 and M.A. in 1792. The tripos verses which he wrote (March 2, 1786, *in comitiis prioribus*) on the lawn in the College court are still preserved (*Bodleian Lib., Gough collection, Cambridge*, 95). They are clever in composition. He descants on the fine piece of grass across which only children are allowed to run. The care taken to encourage its growth is notable; spade, rake, roller, and even subtler arts, have their place in the industry. The days of spring are anxious days, and sometimes a failure occurs, especially when ill-fortune sends a crowd of undergraduates over it.

"Sæpe etenim placidæ per opaca silentia noctis  
(Ceū lemures quondam) saliunt effusa juvenus,  
Thyrsigero stimulante Deo, pedibusque profanis  
Insultant campo passim, atque impune choreas

## Whishaw at Cambridge

Exercent. Sæpe impransus festinat alumnus,  
Et metuens epulis, non fert assueta viarum  
Tædia, sed glebæ extremo vix margine cautum  
Radit iter."

So, great care is exercised to obliterate these traces of ruin. Fortunate they, the fellows, who can repose on such lawns. The poet, alas! sits looking on from afar and sings in humble strain.

Whishaw had been intended for the Church, but the loss of a leg while at college made him "canonically ineligible to the service of the altar." As he had inherited considerable property from his father, he never entered the lists in competition for a fellowship at Trinity. He obtained distinction both at the University and among the graduates resident at London by winning one of the members' prizes for an essay in Latin prose in 1789 and again in 1790. His friend, John Heys, a fellow of the College, obtained the same prizes in the following years, and another friend and fellow, John Tweddell, the traveller, followed in their steps. The best-known wrangler in Whishaw's year was Malthus, and with him, as with the other distinguished fellows of Trinity and Jesus at this period, he remained a staunch friend throughout life.

The subject of the essay for 1790 was the burning question whether the French Revolution was likely to prove advantageous or injurious to this country, and Whishaw's essay contended that it would result in benefit to us. The then Mr. Samuel Romilly writing to Madame Gallois on August 20, 1790, drew from this fact an indication that public opinion in England

## Whishaw and the Bar

leant to approval of the Revolution, and the line which the essayist adopted was certainly that maintained by the Whigs as a party. This competition probably influenced the tenour of Whishaw's life. He remained until death a devoted supporter of that cause in politics. Five years before this date the competition for one of those prizes had decided the career of a more prominent man, and through him guided the action of the nation. *Anne liceat invitos in servitutem dare* was set by old Peckard of Magdalene College, the Vice-Chancellor, as the subject of the contest in 1785, and the victory was gained by Thomas Clarkson, the abolitionist, whose absorbing interest in the theme led him to devote his after-years to furthering the cause of freedom.

Without the tie of a fellowship or the necessity, through inadequate means, of taking pupils at the University so as to obtain the capital for his start in life, Whishaw came to London at once, was entered as a student at Gray's Inn on October 20, 1789, and after eating the regulation-course of dinners, was called to the bar by that society on June 27, 1794. His branch of the profession was on the chancery side, and he soon found it necessary to have chambers near the scene of his labours. He was admitted at Lincoln's Inn on October 27, 1794, and obtained rooms in New Square, where he dwelt until 1835, having for many years Francis Horner as his neighbour.

Whishaw quickly obtained considerable business in the courts. The principles and practice of equity were familiar to him, and he put his points with

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## Whishaw as an Official

clearness and without exaggeration. The judges listened to his arguments with respect, and Lord Eldon did not hesitate to praise both his knowledge of the law and his method of conducting his cases. But Whishaw was possessed of independent means, and desired a position of less labour, in which he could indulge his tastes more frequently, and not be restricted in the enjoyments of social life by the necessity of giving up long hours to the study of briefs. He consequently accepted, in October, 1806, from Lord Henry Petty, afterwards the Marquess of Lansdowne, the post of Commissioner for auditing the public accounts. The instincts of reform followed him into his new office. He strove, but strove in vain, to abandon the use of Roman numerals and bad Latin for Arabic figures and English words. Lord Grenville would hear of nothing so revolutionary as writing "hair powder duty" instead of *debitum super pulverem crinalem*.

Coming up to London with the reputation of possessing a competency and mental endowments of conspicuous merit, Whishaw was not long in becoming known to the leading reformers and in obtaining introductions to the *salons* of Whiggism. Sydney Smith, on settling in his modest establishment at Doughty Street in 1803, sought his acquaintance as one of the prominent lawyers living in that neighbourhood. Romilly, who had known him from 1790, confided to Dumont in 1803 his suspicion "that our friend Whishaw has contributed something to the merit" of Lord King's celebrated pamphlet on the "Restriction of Payments in Specie" by the

## Whishaw and Brougham

Bank of England, and rumour assigned to him a share in the *brochures* of Lord Holland. When Lord St. Vincent was sent by Mr. Fox on a mission in 1806 to the Court of Lisbon, with the object of counteracting the anticipated invasion of Portugal by the troops of Napoleon, Brougham, then a poor man, was selected for the post of secretary. Whishaw surmised that his friend was ill-provided with resources for the journey, and wrote him: "As your sudden journey and voyage may have involved you in some unexpected expenses, and it may happen that you have pecuniary demands for which you may not be altogether prepared . . . I have money at my bankers', and can, without any inconvenience, furnish you with any reasonable sum for which you may have temporary occasion." Brougham never forgot this unsolicited kindness and recorded the act in his *Life and Times*, I. 37, with a short notice of the chief incidents in Whishaw's career. Abercromby, afterwards the Speaker, and later on Lord Dunfermline, introduced him to Horner as a "very particular friend of mine of the name of Whishaw, whom I hold a most excellent critic and accurate in his opinions of character," and from that time his name is often found in the letters and diaries of Horner. In 1806 Horner suggested his name to Jeffrey as a probable Edinburgh reviewer. This hint does not seem to have been adopted. Although Whishaw's letters contain many references to the review, all of them allude to the writings of others, and he is not included by Doctor Copinger among the contributors to the "first hundred numbers."



## Whishaw and Slavery

By 1814 Whishaw's ascendancy in Whig society was universal. Maria Stewart, daughter of Dugald Stewart, writing to her mother (April 21, 1814), describes a party at Mrs. Marcet's. "Lady Romilly, Dr. Holland (afterwards Sir Henry), and I got a long chat with Mr. Whishaw, which I think was more than we were entitled to, considering we were none of the brightest. Mr. Whishaw seems as mad about the Emperor Alexander as his most devoted slave can be. It is said (I do not know who was Mr. Whishaw's authority) that the Czar asked what was the meaning of Whig and Tory, and when he heard it, said he believed he was the only Whig in his dominions."

The Act for the Abolition of Slavery provided that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port in British dominions after May 1, 1807, and that no slaves should be landed in the Colonies after March 1, 1808. The African Institution was then formed to watch over and promote the operation of the Act, and to aid in the development of commerce and the spread of civilisation within the affected limits; but it was expressly laid down that the Association should not undertake any religious missions or engage in commercial speculations. The Duke of Gloucester, nephew and son-in-law of the King, was its first president, Henry Thornton its treasurer, and Zachary Macaulay acted gratuitously as its secretary for the first five years. When its first anniversary was celebrated, on March 25, 1808, Wilberforce noted in his diary with pride that "ten or twelve noblemen and forty or more M.P.'s attended."

## Whishaw and Mungo Park

From the seventh to the thirteenth report Whishaw's name appeared on the list of directors, and although he was not on the Board on the fourteenth report (1820), his name reappears in later years.

The widow and children of Mungo Park, the African explorer, had been left by him without due provision for their welfare, and his journal and papers were handed by the Government to the African Institution for publication on behalf of the family. John Murray arranged with that body to publish them, and to pay £1,200 for the copyright, but it subsequently appeared that the most important section of the travels had already been published, whereupon he wrote to Whishaw, who had undertaken their editorship, asking that the contract might be rescinded. Matters, however, were subsequently arranged, and the volume was published by him in 1815. The reports of the Association more than once acknowledged the liberality of the publisher, and the sum of £1,200 was duly invested in public funds for the family's benefit.

This publication, says the ninth report of the Institution in somewhat quaint language, "has been edited with great ability by a highly respectable member of this Board." This was Whishaw, who wrote for it "An Account of the Life of Mr. Park," which was based on papers supplied by Park's brother-in-law, Mr. Archibald Buchanan, of Glasgow. Sixty years ago this memoir was devoured by many an English youth; it was often reprinted, and has formed the foundation of all that has been written on Park.

## Whishaw and Smithson Tennant

Rarely indeed has a modest memoir been received with such a chorus of praise. The article by Sir John Barrow in the *Quarterly Review* (April, 1815) asserted that with the exception of one controversial paragraph, it had been "written with good taste, feeling, and judgment," and in a later year (July, 1817) a second contribution to the same review owned that the world was indebted "to the classical pen" of Whishaw for all its information on Park. Brougham in the *Edinburgh Review* (February, 1815) boasted that the editor had produced a volume "at once instructive and entertaining in no common degree." What these writers said in public, equally-distinguished critics remarked in private. Ward, afterwards Lord Dudley, wrote to Copleston, "Whishaw sent me two biographical memoirs, one on Mungo Park, the other on Tennant. Get a sight of them if you can. They are both extremely well done."

Smithson Tennant, the chemist and mineralogist, became known to him at Cambridge, and for more than twenty years they remained the warmest of friends. A few papers scattered through the transactions of the learned societies are the sole records that bear witness to the talents of this University professor of chemistry. He delivered but one course of lectures, and then met his death while crossing a bridge near Boulogne. His body was laid at rest in the cemetery at Boulogne, with a Latin epitaph originally composed by Heys, a lay-fellow of Trinity, then revised by Whishaw, and supervised by Samuel Parr, who composed or corrected most of the classical epitaphs of his age. The memoir, "Some Account of

## Whishaw and Travel

the Late Smithson Tennant, Esq., F.R.S.," appeared in two successive numbers of Dr. Thomson's *Annals of Philosophy*, and a few copies were printed in 1815 for distribution among friends. It purported to have been drawn up by some of Tennant's friends, but was in the main the composition of Whishaw.

One sentence in it troubled the sensitive mind of Burckhardt, the traveller in the East. Tennant was represented as having been at considerable pains to instruct him "in the principles of mineralogy," but Burckhardt protested that Tennant had done nothing more than "to produce sometimes a few specimens and to ask whether I knew what they were." He was apprehensive lest the public should expect from him, as the pupil of so distinguished a man of science, some "deep geological and mineralogical disquisitions on the African mountains," and be disappointed through the absence of such information.

Horner urged Whishaw to publish the life with his name on the title-page, but this advice was never adopted, and at present his name finds no place in the voluminous catalogue of the British Museum Library.

Whishaw's success with his memoirs led him to communicate to Parr his desire to preserve in print the memory of their excellent friend, John Tweddell. At another time he thought of arranging for publication some papers of William George Browne, the enthusiastic traveller in Syria and Persia, who was murdered while journeying late in the summer of 1813 towards Teheran. Browne's chief friend at home was Tennant, to whose care these papers had been transmitted from Smyrna, and through whom

## Whishaw and Lucy Aikin

they had reached Whishaw. But nothing came of these projects.

John Aikin, the brother of Mrs. Barbauld, and the father of Lucy Aikin, practised at Chester and Warrington during the youth of Whishaw, and a community of feeling brought them into intimacy. Aikin in 1812 inscribed his lives of Selden and Usher to Whishaw, "as a testimony of cordial friendship and esteem," and Lucy Aikin had known him from childhood. In her letters and memoirs anecdotes of him abound for years. She describes a dinner with the Carrs in May, 1815, to meet Sir Walter Scott, when she sat between Whishaw and Sotheby, and the former was full of laments over the return of his friend Dumont to Geneva. In July, 1815, he read to her "an agreeable letter from Miss Edgeworth about his life of Park, with a postscript by Edgeworth *père* on "the possibility of exploring Africa in balloons, which he knows the art of guiding—in perfectly calm air." Lucy Aikin made in 1827 "a jaunt to Cambridge," which was planned by Whishaw and his great friend, William Smyth, the professor of modern history in that University, and the Mallets, husband and wife, were included in the party. Whishaw took the two ladies in his carriage with "a very amiable young Romilly on the box," and the Mallet husband went by coach. The trip lasted from Thursday to Sunday, and the professor gave "two good dinners" at which the "brightest stars of the University," Kaye, the Bishop of Lincoln, Sedgwick, and Whewell, shed their light. Three years later she wrote to Dr. Channing that Whishaw's

## Whishaw and the Whigs

"literary opinions are heard in the most enlightened circles with a deference approaching that formerly paid to Johnson," and after his death paid a tribute to "his wisdom, his knowledge, and his wit." Perhaps the sharpest estimate of character by Whishaw recorded in these letters, and it is mentioned more than once, was "that Bentham was a schoolman, born some ages too late."

Whishaw retired from his commissionership on a pension at the latter end of 1835, when he was more than 70 years old, and suffered from partial blindness. He had enjoyed his post for nearly 30 years, and his leisure hours in London with the holidays and the vacations yielded abundant opportunities for the pleasures of social life. His name occurs among the long list of guests at Holland House, which was drawn up by its imperious hostess, with the comment, "Whose sense made his opinions valuable to have and also difficult to obtain." Tom Moore met him regularly at dinner at the town house of Lord Lansdowne and stayed with him at Bowood.<sup>1</sup> They breakfasted several times with Rogers. Once, it was in 1832, when Macaulay, Luttrell, and Lord Kerry were present, they broke into "strong politics." On another occasion "old Whishaw" gave them an amusing instance of Dr. Parr's stilted phraseology. In addressing a well-known lawyer after some great forensic display, he said, "Sir, you are incapable of doing justice to your own argument; you weaken it by diffusion and perplex it by reiteration." Jeremy

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Whishaw is still remembered (1905) as coming every Christmas to Bowood with his wards, "The Romilly boys."

## Whishaw and Jeremy Bentham

Bentham wrote to Brougham to bring a gang to the Hermitage at Queen Street Place, "to devour such eatable and drinkables as are to be found in it." Five members of the gang, Brougham, Denman, Hume, Mackintosh, and Ricardo, were to come from the House of Commons ; the other selected members of the party, Whishaw and James Mill, were outside St. Stephen's. It was, indeed, a company of giants.

In August, 1816, the Smiths of Easton Grey, in Wiltshire, friends and neighbours of Lord Lansdowne at Bowood, and Ricardo at Gatcombe, went with him to the Netherlands. "Madam" Smith, as she was called, left a great reputation for cleverness and learning ; she collected autographs and Whishaw sent her many valuable letters from Scott, Byron, and other celebrities of English life. In the next autumn he was in Paris and "recommencing his journey." He was on a visit to Ricardo at Gatcombe Park in the vacation of 1819, when host and guest had many and protracted conversations on Parliamentary Reform, and in company with Zachary Macaulay, Baptist Noel, and others he stayed at Lord Calthorpe's country house at Ampton, near Bury St. Edmunds, which Wilberforce, another sojourner, called "an exquisite oasis." In October, 1831, he had just returned from France.

In the autumn of 1826 Whishaw and Jeffrey were guests at Sydney Smith's Yorkshire living of Foston-le-Clay, as it was appropriately called, and some years later (1832 and 1835) he stayed with the same cheerful host in the more beautiful scenes of Combe Flory, under the Quantock Hills. He did not,

## Whishaw and Sydney Smith

however, enjoy immunity from Sydney's playful gibes. "Whishaw's plan is the best," he said; "he gives no opinion for the first week, but confines himself to chuckling and elevating his chin; in the meantime he drives diligently about the first critical stations, breakfasts in Mark Lane (with Ricardo), hears from Hertford College (Malthus), and by Saturday night is as bold as a lion and as decisive as a court of justice." Later on, Sydney dubs him "a man of fashion," and then describes Lady Holland "as cautious as Whishaw," but in October, 1831, when the Whigs were in the plenitude of power, he showed his genuine estimate of his friend by advising Earl Grey to cultivate Whishaw; "He is one of the most sensible men in England, and his opinions valuable if he will give them." When Whishaw did express himself, his confidence in his own opinions won for him the nicknames of "the Pope"<sup>1</sup> and "the Mufti."

In the midst of this chorus of praise there breaks in one jarring note—that of Thomas Carlyle. Troubled with that eternal want of pence which hinders the rise of mental "worth by poverty depressed," and chafing inwardly at Jeffrey's neglect to introduce him to his influential friends, he called one winter's evening at the Lord Advocate's rooms in Jermyn

<sup>1</sup> This explains a reference in a letter of Lord Brougham to Creevey, in which he says, "Nothing can be more unpropitious than the plan of carrying on a party by a *coterie* at Lady Holland's elbow, which cannot be submitted to for a moment, even I should think, by those who belong to her *coterie*; at least, I know no one but the Coles (the Abercrombies), Horner, and the *Pope* (who are of her household), who can bear it" ("Creevey Memoirs," vol. i., p. 249).



## Whishaw and Thomas Carlyle

Street. All three—Jeffrey, his wife, and Carlyle—were sitting crooning over the fire when Whishaw was announced. The lady, in her anxiety to suit the room to her distinguished visitor, dashed about for a few seconds, removing, arranging, and re-arranging. The door opened and there “waddled in a puffy, thick-set vulgar little dump of an old man whose manners and talk . . . struck me as very cool, bid far enough from admirable.” Carlyle in his ire soon made himself scarce, but condescended long afterwards to ask old Sterling who the man was. “He’s a damned old humbug ; dines at Holland House,” was the ready answer. This description of his person must be accepted as the truth. It is not unlike that given by Mrs. Le Breton, in her memories of her aunt, Lucy Aikin, whom he generally visited in company with Professor Smyth, both of them being adepts at conversation, full of anecdotes and interesting talk. Whishaw “was a short stout man with a cork leg, very lame, and with a rather surly manner.” Sydney Smith once pointed him out to a country cousin as “Hannibal who lost his leg in the Carthaginian war.” Another lady, Miss Fenwick, writing to Sir Henry Taylor, lauded him and Crabb Robinson as “two old bachelors preserving kindness and courtesy, loving themselves, and making others love them.” Whishaw, she thought, preserved his benevolence “through the want of his leg,” the other through his ugliness.

Whishaw accompanied Brougham to the House of Peers on his first great speech, and contrasted the cold reception of the orator in his new position with

## Whishaw and the Romilly Family

the tumultuous cheers which greeted and accompanied him in the other House. Brougham referred to him as the friend "long known intimately, and consequently most highly and justly esteemed," whom Romilly made his executor, and to whom he entrusted the care of his children; and, as far as was possible, he supplied the place of their father. Romilly left materials for a work on criminal law, and his confidence in Whishaw's judgment was such that the task of examining them and deciding whether they were worthy of publication was deputed to him. If he declined, the duty was assigned to Brougham. The decision of Whishaw to refrain from publishing these papers was the subject of some severe remarks in an article in the *Quarterly Review*, September, 1845, pp. 439-44. Strong condemnation of this article is expressed in Lord Cockburn's *Journal* (1874), II., 128-9. When Whishaw retired from office, he moved to 29, Wilton Crescent, to live with the two youngest sons, Charles and Frederick, of Sir Samuel Romilly, or, to use Sydney Smith's pleasantry, with "Romulus and Remus."

A very kindly reference to his loss of sight and declining health was made by Jeffrey in 1837. "I was not at all aware that his sight was so very much decayed. But I think he is fortunate beyond most unmarried men, in being the object of more cordial kindness than such solitaires usually attract, and in having so great a society of persons of all ages, sexes, and occupations, willing to occupy themselves about him. His kindness, I do think, has *fructified* more than that of most people and been the cause of

## Whishaw's Varied Work

kindness in others to a larger extent." With the attentions of his devoted friends, his last years glided quietly away. He was much affected in October, 1840, by the news of the death of Lord Holland, which was communicated to him somewhat abruptly by Sydney Smith. The shock gave him a slight stroke, but he lingered on until a quarter past three on the morning of December 21, 1840, when he passed away quietly and without suffering. His wish was to be buried as privately as possible at St. Peter's Church, Eaton Square. Charles Romilly was his sole executor, and nearly the whole of the property was left to him.

Whishaw was at that date the senior bencher of Gray's Inn, and he had been a member of the Athenæum Club from its foundation; he was also one of the select band in literature and science who formed, in the early years of the 19th century, the "King of Clubs." He had been F.R.S. since 1815, and had acted with his accustomed vigour, as became a friend of Bentham and Brougham, on the Councils of the London University, and the Committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. His name follows those of George Grote and Zachary Macaulay in the list of the first Council of the University.

One of his colleagues at the Audit Office, Mr. J. L. Mallet (son of Mallet Du Pan), thus depicted his official character: "He carried with him in public life the same qualities which had always distinguished him; great strength of understanding, powers of reasoning, great industry, and clearness in the despatch of business, and perfect integrity of purpose ;

## Whishaw and Lord Dunfermline

nor was the happy influence he exercised for nearly thirty years in a very large department by his conciliating disposition and excellent sense less conspicuous than his able and conscientious discharge of his duties. Mr. Whishaw's mind was amply stored with legal, practical, and literary knowledge ; and no man was oftener consulted, or gave kinder and better advice."

Lord Dunfermline, who as Mr. James Abercromby had known him from youth, sent to Mr. Charles Romilly the following tribute to his old companion : " You and your brothers have lost a most valuable friend. Whishaw exerted the duty towards you all, and what had been confided to him, with the greatest zeal and affection. But the day of his death was not the day from which his loss to you was to be dated. His means of usefulness had passed away, and it remained for you to repay his kindness by watching over him in his decline. Few men can have died more free from self-reproach or with so little to regret as Whishaw. His life was active, useful, and honourable, and passed in a free and rational indulgence of kind, benevolent, and sound feeling. He was very much valued and one of my oldest friends."

Both eulogies were justified. In his old age the memory of Whishaw could dwell with proud satisfaction on a long life spent in honourable labour and in social intercourse with the noblest in our land.

W. P. COURTNEY.



## CHAPTER I

1813

Autographs for Mrs. Smith—Tennant's lectures—Madame de Staël—Foreign politics—Buonaparte—*Edinburgh Review*—Sir Humphry and Lady Davy—Mungo Park—The Allies—Sir James Mackintosh—Madame de Staël's "L'Allemagne"—Terms offered to France—Accounts from Paris.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*July 21, 1813.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been some time intending to write you a letter of thanks for your kind reception of me at Easton Grey; but I was desirous of accompanying my acknowledgments with something that might be worth adding to Mrs. Smith's collection.

I have not been able to get all that I wished; but such as they are you will, I hope, receive them safe in an office frank. I shall not omit any opportunity of picking up any letters or signatures which may appear to be interesting.

Tennant<sup>1</sup> has been some days at Cambridge

<sup>1</sup> Smithson Tennant, 1761–1815, Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge, was the discoverer that the true nature of the diamond consisted of pure carbon.

## Madame de Staël

to settle respecting the chemical apparatus for his lectures. He found it necessary to stay and make some alterations in the furnaces; and I yesterday sent him some potassium for the purpose of trying some experiments which I hope will prove interesting.

The Edgeworths have been succeeded in London by Madame de Staël, whose arrival you must have seen mentioned in the papers. Her career is still more brilliant than theirs; for she is extremely in vogue with all parties, and especially the *Ministerialists*. She has also been much noticed at Court by the Queen and the Regent, the latter of whom paid her a visit of two hours a few mornings ago. These great distinctions are owing not to her talents or even to her celebrity, but to her hostility towards Buonaparte, her connections with the Crown Prince of Sweden, and the decided change that has taken place in her politics. She is violent for war, considers Lord Castlereagh as a great statesman, and is decidedly adverse to the Catholic claims. She says she is come to England very much for the purpose of giving her daughter<sup>1</sup> a religious education, and she is looking out for a clergyman of the Church of England for that purpose.

Notwithstanding all this, which to those who know Madame de Staël's history or have read her works must look like grimace or hypocrisy, she is to a considerable extent perfectly sincere in these opinions; for she is the creature of passion and imagination and has nothing at all to do with reason. She is very good-natured, and oc-

<sup>1</sup> Albertine, afterwards Duchesse de Broglie.

## Madame de Staël

casionally, I believe, shows great kindness and benevolence; and she has great ease and frankness in her deportment, though not strictly good manners. Her talents in society are principally displayed in eloquent harangues upon subjects which do not frequently occur in ordinary conversation, such as the excellence of the British Constitution, the Divine Benevolence, &c., &c. Though she has great success at present, it remains to be seen whether her popularity will be lasting; for she appears to require an audience, and to be more *exigante* than is quite consistent with the ease of freedom of society.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smithson Tennant.*

LINCOLN'S INN, Nov. 20, 1813.

We are in great expectation of news from the Continent. It is said that some attempt upon Holland is actually intended by the Allies; and that there is an internal organisation in some part of the country in readiness to join the invaders. The report of yesterday was that Buonaparte, after a short stay in Paris, had set out for Holland, in order to make preparations against the attack. The Ministers here hold very pacific language, for which they are blamed by the *Courier* and other Government papers, who avow principles more conformable, as it is supposed, to the opinions of the Regent and his interior Cabinet at Carlton House. These opinions are known to be very favourable to eternal war with Buonaparte, and the restoration of the Bourbons. The Ministers, on the contrary, wish to conciliate Austria, who entered



## “Edinburgh Review”

into the war most unwillingly, and is anxious to get out of it by holding out a prospect of peace upon fair or reasonable terms. But whatever may be the inclination of different parties, the difficulties of negotiations are such that I see no prospect of peace at present. Buonaparte is rash and violent, and seems to learn no wisdom from adversity. So long as he is supported by the French nation he will persevere in his determination not to sit on what he calls “a degraded throne,” or to make any personal sacrifices.

Nov., 1813.

Pray mention to the Smiths that the new number of the *Edinburgh Review* (just published) contains two articles by Mackintosh, on Rogers and Madame de Staël. Three by Brougham—on Dumont, the Abuses of the Press, and a translation of Cicero. There is also an article by Playfair on Dr. Hutton’s tracts; by Allen of Holland House, on the ancient legislation of Spain; and I believe by Horner on “Biblioteca Espanola,” a work on political economy. Mackintosh writes too elaborately and rhetorically in the *Review*, and praises a great deal too much. Jeffrey will be much surprised on his return from America, where he has gone to be married, that the *Review* has changed its character.

Dec. 11, 1813.

Intelligence has been received from Sir Humphry and Lady Davy, but not till very lately, though they must have reached Paris nearly two months ago. The letters came by the post, and of course are quite

## Mungo Park

silent on the subject of politics. One of them was written by Lady Davy to her mother, Mrs. Farquhar ; it relates chiefly to the fashionable Parisian dresses, and mentions that they have received some civilities and attentions ; at the same time she says that travelling on the Continent is a different thing at the age of twenty-five (when she travelled before) and in more advanced life, and she regrets the curiosity and energy of her earlier years.

Upon the whole there is a tone of disappointment, as I understand, through the whole of this letter, and the journey to Paris appears not to have answered their expectations. On their arrival at Morlaix they were very rigorously searched by the Custom House officers, and probably had a tedious and disagreeable journey, in a rainy season, and through bad roads to Paris, where they must have arrived at a time of great public anxiety and disaster, and when every Englishman must have been regarded by the police with great jealousy and suspicion. The same circumstances have continued during the whole time of their residence, and must have spread a great gloom over the Parisian society.

I am looking over Mungo Park's Journal, which I suppose will soon be published. It contains little new information, but is altogether curious and interesting. He was well qualified by his ardour and intrepidity, to be an explorer of new countries ; but seems to have been no great *observer*. Indeed, his principal motive was the geographical ambition of ascertaining the course of the Niger, and he seems to have cared about little besides. He committed

## The Allies

a great blunder in travelling during the rainy season. Had he done otherwise, he might have escaped that mortality and loss of men to which his final destruction was probably owing. I conclude you must have seen this Journal, for the story which you tell of Isaaco and the crocodile is one of the best things in it.<sup>1</sup>

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

LINCOLN'S INN, Dec. 21, 1813.

You will be glad to see from what passed in Parliament yesterday that the Allies are certainly negotiating, and that there is some chance of a peace. This, however, depends entirely upon Buonaparte's necessities; for he will never consent to make peace in his present situation unless he is *compelled* to it. But his present difficulties both of raising men and money, are very great, and he has not had the slightest success in any quarter to counterbalance his many

<sup>1</sup> "On the 4th of July the guide Isaaco made a narrow escape from a crocodile in passing a river called the Wonda, one of the feeders of the Senegal. Isaaco was engaged in driving some of the asses through the stream, when the crocodile rose close to him, and seizing him by the left thigh pulled him under water. With wonderful presence of mind he thrust his finger into the monster's eye, on which it quitted its hold, and Isaaco made for the bank, crying for a knife; but the crocodile followed, and again seized him by the other thigh, when Isaaco had recourse to the same expedient, and thrusting his fingers into both eyes with such violence that the creature was compelled a second time to let go its hold; after which it flounced about for a moment in stupid blindness, and then went down to the river" ("Life of Mungo Park").

## Sir James Mackintosh

reverses. Antwerp is said to be so ill provided that it must fall, and Bayonne will be immediately besieged by Lord Wellington. Mackintosh's speech last night, though it showed great power, disappointed the public expectation. He was too abstract and diffuse, too much of a *lecturer*, and had not a sufficient appearance of earnestness and sincerity. Whether he is to be a great Parliamentary speaker was not *decided* by the appearance of last night, but it is certainly somewhat doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

You need be in no great haste to see Madame de Staël's book <sup>2</sup>; which, however, is worth looking into when you have an opportunity. It is occasionally ingenious, and sometimes eloquent; but it is very deficient in facts and contains no real information. In truth, she is an advocate for the most commonplace and vulgar opinions, and this is one of the causes of her popularity. It would be no great exaggeration to say that she maintains whatever is exaggerated in taste, absurd in metaphysics, and false and pernicious in morality. Would you believe that Madame de Staël was at first a little disappointed by the *Edinburgh Review*, and thought the praise *rather cold*? She took time, however, to consider, and is now, I believe, well satisfied, or at least professes to be so. She was very angry with the former review on her essay on Suicide, and complained that her critic (Mackintosh) had not read the book.

<sup>1</sup> The Speech was a strong protest against a threatened interference of the Allies in Holland and Switzerland.

<sup>2</sup> "De l'Allemagne."

## News from Paris

*Dec. 28, 1813.*

I am afraid that the aspect of public affairs is not so pacific as when I last wrote. There is a strong party in this country against peace upon any terms with Napoleon ; and this party may perhaps have such influence in the Cabinet as may lead them to propose conditions which cannot be acceded to, and pave the way to a separate peace on the part of the Allies, especially Austria.

The terms offered to France and acceded to (before the counter-Revolution was known) are understood to be—the Rhine for a boundary, Holland a separate and independent kingdom under Louis Buonaparte ; and the total abandonment of Spain, Germany, the Tyrol and Illyrian provinces, and of the whole of Italy except the Milanese, which was to remain to Eugene Beauharnais, in consideration of his having married a princess of Bavaria. The Revolution in Holland has made a great change, and is probably the cause of the delays to which Buonaparte alludes in his speech.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smithson Tennant.*

*Dec. 31, 1813.*

I am afraid that peace is still extremely doubtful. It is even problematical whether Lord Castlereagh's mission be really pacific, and whether he may not have been sent for the purpose of reconciling differences and keeping Austria from the Alliance. Madame de Staël asserts that the Ministers here

## News from Paris

are "*tout a fait à la guerre*," and though she is a person of no great judgment, yet, as she sees a great number of people and has various means of information, I am afraid that her opinion is not altogether unfounded.

People arrived lately from Paris say there is great discontent there, but not of that kind that produces an explosion of popular feeling. It evaporated in a cold reception of the Emperor at public places, and a few lively epigrams.

In the provinces there is great despair on account of the conscription, but at the same time much apathy. The alarm was considerable for about six weeks, but the delay of the Allies in crossing the Rhine, and the ignorance in which people were for some time kept as to what was passing in Holland, gave them time to breathe; and the first panic was quite over. The terms to which Buonaparte had agreed as a preliminary basis, exclusively of Colonial compensations, are said to have been the following: To abandon Germany, Spain, Holland, and Italy, and restore the Valais to Switzerland. To give up Naples and the Ecclesiastical States to their own sovereigns; and the Tyrol, the Illyrian provinces, and Piedmont, together with Genoa, to the Archduke Francis of Austria, who has married a Sardinian princess. The Milanese to be erected into a principality for the Princess of Bavaria, who is married to Eugene Beauharnais; and the Ecclesiastical States to be formed into a detached sovereignty for Murat; the Netherlands and Antwerp to remain with France. I know not whether you will be

## News from Paris

interested in this diplomatic detail, in which there is probably, as usual, a mixture of truth and falsehood. It is to be observed that these terms were agreed on before the Revolution in Holland, at which time, it is said, the Allies were not unwilling to consent to the restoration of Louis Buonaparte as a separate and wholly independent sovereign. They had a jealousy of Holland becoming a sort of province to England, by means of the restoration of the House of Orange, but as that event has now taken place without the assistance of the Allies, a new and very serious difficulty has arisen, by which the progress of the negotiation must be much impeded. It is probably to this that Buonaparte alluded in speaking of "delays not attributable to France."

## CHAPTER II

1814

Professor Tennant and Hobhouse's travels—Bacon and Chemistry—The Allies—Madame de Staël—The Bourbons—Madame d'Arblay's Book — Ricardo — Princess Charlotte — Lord Cochrane—*Edinburgh Review*—Lord Holland and Mr. Allen in Paris—Lady Holland's account of Society in Brussels—Mr. Allen on Napoleon and the Slave Trade—Accounts from Paris—*Edinburgh Review*—The Simplon—The Princess of Wales and Dr. Holland—Lady Holland's account of Rome and the Society there—Lady Mackintosh's account of visit paid to Napoleon in Elba by Mr. Vernon and Mr. Douglas—Dr. Holland's account of his travels with the Princess of Wales and Murat's Court.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*Jan. 8, 1814.*

IT seems to me that Tennant has done rather too much honour to your friend Hobhouse<sup>1</sup> in the quotation made from his travels.<sup>2</sup> The remark cited is a very natural and obvious one; and Mr. Hobhouse's work, though sensible and in some respects useful and instructive, is not entitled to so great

<sup>1</sup> John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton.

<sup>2</sup> In his lecture at Cambridge, "Journey through Albania."



## Tennant

a distinction. Tennant's *exotic* propensities lead him to regard *foreigners* and *travellers* with a peculiar sort of partiality. But the habit of lavish and indiscriminate praise, especially coming from such a quarter, is at all times to be guarded against. It is true that this error cannot often be imputed to Tennant; and I may be inclined to notice this instance of it rather strongly, from having been so much displeased by the late critiques in the *Edinburgh Review*, in which this passion for praising (*Diabetes Mellitus*, it has been called) has been carried to such preposterous lengths.

The security which civilised nations derive from the scientific art of war, occasioned by the discovery of gunpowder (the subject to which Hobhouse's remark applies), is very fully considered by Gibbon in his general observations at the end of the thirty-eighth chapter of his history. The passage is worth looking at, if Tennant did not refer you to it at the time of composing this part of his lecture.

I doubt whether Lord Bacon has any just title to be enumerated among the founders of chemical science. Giving all just praise to his great talents, I have always thought it doubtful whether he contributed practically in any essential degree to the vast changes in philosophical reasoning which had begun in his time, but were carried to so great an extent in the age which succeeded. Those parts of Lord Bacon's works which relate to chemical experiments, of which he seems to have been very fond, are strongly marked with the credulity and bad reasoning which belonged to that age. Pray look at that part

## Foreign Affairs

of his work which goes under the title of "Natural Philosophy."

I shall desire Tennant to make honourable mention of the great heroes of civilisation (to whom we owe so much of our greatness), Watt, Wedgwood, and Arkwright—

*"Inventas et qui vitam excoluere per artes."*

The present state of things on the Continent is in the highest degree interesting ; and I cannot help entertaining great hopes of peace, though more from the apparently settled determination of Austria than from the wisdom and moderation of our own Government. I hope that the advance of the Allies is more for the quickening the negotiation, than with a view to direct hostilities ; and they will, I trust, establish themselves on the French territory (imitating in this respect the conduct of Buonaparte under similar circumstances), till the actual signing of the definite Treaty.

*March 7, 1814.*

Public affairs are, as usual, very unsatisfactory. An opportunity has been lost which probably never will return, of making peace with Buonaparte at a time when his army and people were dispirited, and he himself was degraded in the eyes of France and Europe. Our rash Bourbon speculations have given him time to recover his military name and character, and to fix himself and his dynasty permanently on the throne of France. He will do this also in such a manner as to check any rising spirit of freedom

## Peace Prospects

which might, perhaps, have grown up in France out of his uninterrupted failures and misfortunes.

It is said that there have been great misunderstandings between the Allies, and that Russia and Austria are on bad terms. The latter probably was never entirely in earnest in wishing the total destruction of Buonaparte, but was gradually led on, in the hope of more advantageous terms of peace and larger accessions of territory. It seems probable, however, that some peace will be concluded, and I hope that we shall be parties to it; but with respect to this country, it seems impossible that the peace can be of any long continuance. The *Courier* and *Times* (to say nothing of higher Powers) are sufficient to prevent it.

April 5,<sup>1</sup> 1814.

Politics have taken a decided turn since I left London, and the negotiation has been actually broken off with a perfect cordiality and good understanding among the Allies. This seems to show that Buonaparte has displayed his usual obstinacy and violence of character; and put himself *in the wrong* in the negotiation. His present military position is very singular, and as it appears to be of his own choosing, he evidently intends to strike some great blow. In this he may perhaps succeed, but his peril is extreme; he is a desperate gamester, and the same defects of character that were ruinous to him at Dresden and Moscow may perhaps ultimately prevail against the energy and military talents which he has now so strikingly displayed, and which, if he

<sup>1</sup> The day on which Napoleon abdicated.

## The Allies

had any portion of ordinary prudence, would have secured him firmly on his throne.

Whilst I am writing I hear all sorts of reports of successes of the Allies, and of their having actually entered Paris on the 30th. I mean, therefore, to send you an evening paper, which probably will contain very important intelligence.

Madame de Staël continues to be very popular, and her parties are numerous and splendidly attended. Her success has been prodigious, and beyond all former example with people of all parties. I know of no exceptions but Lady Spencer and the Grenville family. Very lately Lord and Lady Ellenborough, who had held aloof for a long time, paid her a first visit. She has certainly great good temper, and is occasionally very brilliant and eloquent.

*April 14, 1814.*

Tennant, whom I still found in London on my return from the country a few days ago, informed me that he had lately written to you. Of course he expressed his opinion on the marvellous events which have crowded upon us during the last week.<sup>1</sup> All circumstances considered, the result must be regarded as very favourable; and the Allies, especially the Emperor Alexander, have acted a wise and honourable part in allowing the Senate to prescribe conditions on the acceptance of the throne by the exiled family. The triumph would have been complete if they had suffered that body to make a free choice of their sovereign, and to break the line

<sup>1</sup> Napoleon's abdication, and the occupation of Paris by the Allies.

## The Bourbons

of succession, either by appointing the Duke of Orleans or the young King of Rome with a Regency. But this was too much to be expected. I am afraid, however, that they may have committed a fatal error in this *half measure*.

The stability of the new Constitution, and the return of order and tranquillity in France, are much endangered by the establishment of the old family. Princes have not often been known to profit by the lessons of adversity; and in the present instance it is but too clear that no such miraculous amendment has taken place.

The Bourbons, I am afraid, will return with all their old prejudices, and with a devoted attachment to the Catholic Church. Louis XVIII. is the most reasonable of them, but he is a mere valetudinarian and confined to his gouty chair. His immediate successor will be the former Comte d'Artois, the most violent and unpopular of the French Princes, who, after a life of profligacy, has within a few years become a bigoted devotee. As there is no man of talents for public business in the circles of the Emigrant Court, they must throw themselves on Talleyrand, and the Revolutionary leaders and generals. But there will of course be a *secret cabinet*, and a new series of plots and intrigues may again lead to the most fatal consequences. Already the emigrants were in a state of fury and violence that is hardly to be described, at the guarantee of the national domains, and the acceptance of a Constitution from the hands of Talleyrand and the Regicides.

## Affairs in Paris

The Constitution itself has great merits, though it is not sufficiently explicit on the great subject of *personal liberty*. It is, however, much too good, I fear, for the French nation ; and already the principle of the freedom of the Press has been infringed by the Provisional Government.

*April 22nd.*

Madame de Staël is going for a short time to Paris, and it seems to me that all the world is doing the same.

Madame d'Arblay's book<sup>1</sup> is considered here as a great failure, partly on account of the vulgar faults of exaggeration and caricature with which it is chargeable, and in consequence of her long residence on the Continent she has nearly lost her power of writing English.

*April 30, 1814.*

I conclude that you have very authentic accounts at Whitton of what is passing at Paris, as I hear Mr. Hobhouse has been there for some time. All reports seem to agree that the late Revolution is felt very much as a *conquest*, and that there is a considerable anti-Bourbon party. This circumstance affords the only chance of a new Constitution, in the stability of which I have no confidence. Already is the liberty of the Press suspended, and the Executive Government, in settling the new rates of

<sup>1</sup> "The Wanderer," begun in 1802, for which she was to receive £1,500 in a year and a half, and £3,000 on the sale of 8,000 copies. She said that 3,600 copies were sold at the rapacious price of two guineas. The book was apparently never read by anybody. ("Dictionary of National Biography.")

## French Politics

customs, seems to have been imposing taxes by its own authority. I am afraid that the circumstances of the times, and the character of the nation, are adverse to any system of rational freedom, and that no such thing can be expected for a long time in France.

I am afraid you will hardly see Madame de Staël ; her Friday evening parties are at an end, and she is going in a short time to Paris. She paid her respects to Louis XVIII., and it is said that she made him a long speech, which was not very favourably received. Lord and Lady Lansdowne set out for Paris to-morrow, but they are not to be absent for more than three weeks or a month.

*May 3, 1814.*

I see nothing that is likely to prevent my going to you from Cambridge. My plan is to set out the middle of the day on Sunday. My carriage will take us to Waltham Cross, and we shall travel post afterwards. We shall dine and sleep at the East India College, where, besides Mr. Malthus, you will probably see a very sensible man, Mr. Ricardo, of the Stock Exchange, who has distinguished himself as a writer on the Bank restrictions. He is a sort of neighbour of yours in Gloucestershire, having lately purchased an estate near Tetbury, the name of which, if I remember right, is Gatcombe.

The new Government in France is going on prudently and moderately, but the Constitution seems already in a great measure to be a dead letter. Important laws are every day passed without any mention being made of the Senate or Legislature,







DAVID RICARDO.  
*From an engraving by Hodgetts, after T. Phillips.*

*To face p. 57.*

## French Politics

who, I apprehend, will only be brought forward upon urgent occasions, and to do strong and invidious acts, as in the time of Napoleon.

May 19, 1814.

The accounts from Paris are various and doubtful Lord Lansdowne, who is expected back in a few days, writes on the whole favourably of the present state of things, but he may have received his impressions from Talleyrand and the *Corps diplomatique*, and has been too much employed in going about with Lady Lansdowne to see sights, than in making inquiries and observations during the short time he has been there.

June 14, 1814.

There is to be a meeting relative to the Slave Trade on Friday next, at the Freemasons' Tavern, where there will probably be some good speaking, and I shall be glad to procure admission for as many of your Ladies as choose to be present. I do not know whether you have seen the new Mint. If not, it is well worth your seeing; and I have an opportunity of getting an introduction for your party any morning that you please. I had almost forgot to mention the Greenwich Observatory, which your Ladies ought certainly to see, and which Mr. Pond, the Astronomer Royal, would be very happy to show them.

July 14, 1814.

You will read with some surprise and indignation the statement in the *Chronicle* respecting the Princess Charlotte, which you may be assured is substantially

## Princess Charlotte

true.<sup>1</sup> Counter-statements have appeared on the part of the Court, and particularly in the *Courier* of the evening, which, as you may not be in the habit of seeing the paper, I will send. The Princess Charlotte is now closely confined a prisoner of state, in a bad state of health, requiring sea air and bathing, which has not been permitted for the last two years. I have recommended that a *complete statement* of her case, accompanied by all the proper documents, may be immediately published; and I believe that this step has been determined on.

July 25, 1814.

Lord Cochrane's<sup>2</sup> case is too long to be discussed in this letter. I will only say that I think he was very properly convicted; but the conduct of the Court was reprehensible, and the sentence unreason-

<sup>1</sup> On July 12th the Princess had escaped to her mother's house in Connaught Place, in order to break off her intended marriage with the Prince of Orange.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Cochrane, tenth Earl of Dundonald, was tried on a charge of complicity with Berenger, a French refugee, of manufacturing false news as to the death of Napoleon and certainty of peace, in order to influence the Stock Market. Cochrane, who knew absolutely nothing of the affair, was mixed up with others (one of whom was an uncle of his own) who were undoubtedly guilty; all were convicted, and Cochrane sentenced to pay £1,000, to stand in the pillory for an hour (this, however, was remitted), and to be imprisoned for a year. He was expelled from the House of Commons, his name taken off the Navy list, and erased from the Order of the Bath, but within a few days of these indignities he was enthusiastically returned by the electors of Westminster, who passed a unanimous resolution that he "was perfectly innocent of the Stock Exchange fraud." (See "Dictionary of National Biography," Lord Cochrane.)

## “Edinburgh Review”

ably severe. It is this circumstance that has produced the great reaction in his favour. But the publication of the trial, and the last discussion of the question in the House of Commons have abated the ardour of his friends, and the tide of public opinion is set a little the other way.

*July 28, 1814.*

When I said that Madame de Staël was in a certain degree sincere in her exaggerated opinions respecting religion and politics, I did not mean that she was destitute of interested views. I only meant to observe that such irrational minds naturally pass from one violent extreme to another, and know no medium. This has been the case with Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, and many other furious democrats, who have at last subsided into High Church principles and the most abject Toryism.

*Aug. 9, 1814.*

I do not know whether it is worth while to send you the names of the persons whom I take to be the writers of several of the articles in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*. But as I believe you take some interest in these matters, I send you the best information in my power—

State of Europe ...	...	...	...	Jeffrey
Galt's Travels ...	...	...	...	Brougham
Norway ...	...	...	...	"
Appert on Food...	...	...	...	Leslie?
Language of Indian Islands	...	...	...	Hamilton?
Account of Retreat near York	...	...	...	Sydney Smith
Lord Byron's "Corsair"	...	...	...	Jeffrey

## French Politics

The article on the Slave Trade from its subject should be Brougham's, but from internal evidence I think it is not his ; perhaps Allen's, of Holland House.

The present number does not seem to be a particularly good one. The first article on the State of Europe is particularly objectionable. It is too favourable to the present order of things, and far too complimentary to the Ministers, being written throughout in the tone of an advocate, and not of a calm, reasonable man. Lord Byron, too, is overpraised in the same sort of strain. The article on the Slave Trade is very good, so is that on Norway, except that it is too unqualified ; protesting in effect against all cessions of territory whatever, which is contrary to all reason and experience. It is a question of degree, and must depend in each case upon its own circumstances.

SOUTHEND, ESSEX,

*Sept.* 18, 1814.

Since I last wrote to you I have letters from Lord Holland and his friend Mr. Allen, dated from Paris, containing some curious particulars. They confirm the accounts I had received from other quarters, that the Bourbons are gaining ground, though still far from being popular, and that they are likely to maintain themselves. More interest is taken in the proceedings and debates of the two Chambers than Lord Holland expected to find. The old emigrants are more absurd than they were before the Revolution, and very much discontented with the Government

## Napoleon

for not restoring their estates. They wish, of course, to set the Constitution quite aside ; and some of the Ministers are supposed to have the same views. It is altogether a curious spectacle that France presents at this moment, somewhat resembling the state of England, as described by Clarendon, immediately after the Restoration.

Shortly before I left London I had an opportunity of seeing Captain Locker, one of the naval officers who recently visited Buonaparte on the Island of Elba. I shall shortly detail the account given by the Captain, which appeared to me very rational and interesting. As to appearance, the Emperor (for he still retains the title) is corpulent, but not unwieldy ; on the contrary, he is very active and apparently in excellent health ; a good-looking man, but without the appearance of a gentleman. He is courteous, and has somewhat of a gracious manner, particularly in receiving people ; at dinner he ate eagerly and rapidly, and appeared to be a kind of *gourmand*. He was overflowing in his civilities to the English officers, and flattered the nation systematically, and indeed fulsomely. He talked a great deal, and was in excellent spirits ; spoke too much of himself and his personal dangers and exploits, and in dwelling upon these topics, exceeded the limits of propriety, and perhaps truth. Upon the whole there was a want of dignity and delicacy, and Captain Locker's opinion of the great man was lowered by what he saw. The only trait of his character that appeared at all amiable was an anxiety of feeling that he showed in speaking of the Empress

## The Slave Trade

Marie Louise, which, if not sincere, was certainly very good acting.

He is still haunted by the fear of assassination, and desired that Captain Ussher, one of English officers, would let him have some of his Marines while he remained off Elba, that one of them might sleep every night at his bedchamber door. You have heard, no doubt, that he showed great anxiety for his personal safety during his journey to Elba ; and expressed the utmost exultation when he found himself on board the English frigate. I will finish what I have to say of this great man by mentioning that he is regular at church, and very constant in his devotions.

We may, perhaps, hear some further details of Napoleon, for Colonel Campbell,<sup>1</sup> the English Commissioner resident at Elba, is a plodding, commonplace Scotchman, who keeps a journal, and though not a very acute observer, may perhaps be an inferior sort of Boswell.

I must not forget to say that Lord Holland thinks the question of the Slave Trade in a much fairer way for satisfactory adjustment than he had supposed. He found no great interest or anxiety upon the subject ; and is satisfied that the obnoxious article would be conceded at the Congress by the French Government, if any reasonable equivalent was proposed. He is quite clear that the repeal of the Slave Trade may be obtained if our Ministers are really in earnest.

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Major-General Sir Neil Campbell, C.B. The journal was published by his nephew in 1869.

## Lady Holland

It is very satisfactory to hear that the Duke of Wellington takes a great interest in the cause. When in England lately he collected a great deal of information on the subject ; and when Clarkson called on his Grace at Paris, he was very kindly received, and found him complete master of all the details of the question.

*From Lady Holland to Mr. Whishaw.*

BRUSSELS, July 11, 1814.

Your hints have been of use, and will be of more as we proceed onwards. We came by your suggestion in the *Barque de Gand* from Bruges, and enjoyed the repose from rough *pavé* and saucy postillions.

We have here Lords Carnarvon and Kinnaird, and Creevey, the former very cordial and keen in politics, and anxious to stir Hampshire and Wiltshire for repeal of the Suspension Bill, and Kinnaird is very gay and pleasant. Lady Kinnaird is at Spa. Mrs. Creevey is less well than she was two years ago, but still enjoys society when she can bear the physical exertion of keeping up her head, but she labours under a painful relaxation of the muscles of the neck, which makes her head droop. He is all attention and kindness, quite exemplary in his devotion to her comfort and amusement.

The persecution of the French exiles is cruel, mean, and abominable, out of thirty-eight on the fatal list six are in this country, but a fresh order is come for



## Lady Holland

their expulsion, and the Government and well-disposed cannot resist the importunities of England, and Lord Wellington in particular. It is curious that the dynasty who owe their existence to the firmness of the Dutch, in supporting the Whigs against Louis XIV., Charles, and James, should now be forcing them to depart from their ancient and liberal policy. It must be from an apprehension that a similar good to that of our 1688 may arrive to France. The English threaten to have the French ports shut against Dutch traders, if these wretched men are not expelled by 14th of August.

I am told that in consequence of this cruel decision against Lord Clinton, Mrs. Damer<sup>1</sup> has the nomination of several boroughs. Could not she be apprized of Mackintosh's uncertain means of coming into Parliament? His talents would have their full weight with her, as much as his honourable conduct and sacrifices have with his party. Have you no means of getting at her in this business? It is really essential for us all. Pray write and believe me,

Yours affectionately,

E. V. HOLLAND.

*From Mr. Allen to Mr. Whishaw.*

PARIS, Aug. 19, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—You will be glad to hear that we have had a prosperous though slow journey, not having

<sup>1</sup> Anne Seymour Damer, 1749–1828, sculptress, daughter of Field-Marshal Conway. She renounced her claim to Lord Clinton's estate, to which by law she was entitled.

## Napoleon

arrived here till the 10th. One day we were forced to sleep at Abbeville, and half a day at Breteuil; and after our arrival here Lady Holland was obliged to remain two days at home in order to recover from the fatigues of her journey. But she is now quite re-established, and about the middle of next week I hope we shall begin our journey to Geneva.

Paris, as one had heard from all quarters, has certainly been much embellished by Buonaparte, though, unfortunately, much of what he had begun is not entirely finished, and considering the character of his successors it is doubtful whether they will have spirit and perseverance to execute the magnificent plan which he had formed, and in part accomplished. There is a strong feeling of regret and attachment towards him among the soldiery, but it does not seem to extend to persons of a better condition, and from the accounts of many of his warmest partisans it is clear that long before he had ceased to reign he had acquired all the faults inseparable from the exercise of despotic authority. Success and adulation had completely turned his head. He could not bear the slightest opposition to his will. He consulted with none but those who approved all his plans. He had such an overweening conceit of his own powers that when he had resolved on anything he imagined that every difficulty must give way before him, and that his mere will was sufficient to overcome every obstacle. The last campaign in Germany had worn out his constitution. From the time of his return to France he was in a state of *affaishment physique*. He ate, drank, and slept, and talked of what was to be done and of what

## Napoleon

he would do ; but he did nothing. He had quite lost his former activity and attention to business. When the Allies entered France they found his means of defence no further advanced than when he had crossed the Rhine. No entreaty could prevail on him to make an appeal to his people. When solicited to declare the country in danger, he replied, "*Non, jamais ; je ne ferais ma cour à la nation.*" It was this obstinacy in his misfortunes to reject everything that had an appearance of an appeal to popular sentiment that finally alienated from him all the friends of liberty, and made them consider the restoration of the Bourbons as a smaller evil than the government of a master so deeply imbued with the maxims and feelings of despotism. At the same time he does not appear to have been cruel, and the fear he inspired seems to have proceeded rather from the outrageous violence of expression in which he frequently indulged than from positive acts of violence and severity. They who know him well say that his temper was naturally mild, and that he was overbearing, insolent, and impatient on calculation, thinking that it was in that way only mankind could be governed. But even they admit that he overacted his part, and made enemies unnecessarily by insulting those around him beyond what human nature could bear. The restoration of the Bourbons was certainly the work of Talleyrand. There was no party for them at Paris except a few *émigrés* who owed their restoration to their country to Buonaparte's clemency. The Emperor of Russia was himself undetermined what to do when he entered Paris.

## The Slave Trade

We have had a great deal of conversation here about the Slave Trade. It is quite clear that the French have got the Slave Trade, because there was nothing else the Allies could agree to give them. They had been promised something more than they possessed before the Revolution. They wished for Nieuport and Mons, but these, they were told, were military or naval positions. They next applied for some territory on the Rhine which would extend their frontiers beyond Landau, but this also they were refused, and an offer was made them for the whole of Savoy. The King of France objected to Savoy, as it was inconsistent with the general principle of restoring all parties engaged in the war to the state in which they stood before 1792, to deprive the King of Sardinia of so considerable a part of his dominions. "But what, then, are we to have in return for so many strong places we are to give up?" "You shall have back your colonies." "But our principal colony of St. Domingo can be of no use to us without the Slave Trade." "Well, you shall have the Slave Trade for a certain number of years in order to enable you to replenish it with negroes." Such I understand to have been the history of this negotiation. And at this moment I am confident that Ministers may have that article of the Treaty abrogated when they please, by procuring for France either something in Europe which will be considered by French vanity as an equivalent, or by ceding some foreign possession which does not require negroes for its cultivation. This you may safely state to your friends in the African Association, that the Slave Trade may be abolished on the

## The Slave Trade

part of France to-morrow, provided you will give them or procure for them what may be considered as an equivalent, and from what I hear very little will satisfy them. They talk at present of the great importance of the Slave Trade to France, because they have nothing else to say in favour of the peace they have been compelled to make. Give them something else to boast of, and they will join with you in abusing it as a trade disgraceful to humanity, and most heartily assist you in compelling the Spaniards and Portuguese to give it up.

On the subject of the Slave Trade, I have an application to make to you, or another through you, to the African Association on the part of M. de Humboldt. In the course of his travels he has collected many observations on the bad effects of Slavery and of the Slave Trade, and in the present temper of France he is of opinion that he could say many things with great effect on that subject in the history of his travels which he is now publishing ; but he is desirous of having all the information he can obtain through England, and I have promised to him in consequence that I would write to London to request that the reports of the African Association should be transmitted to him. He wishes also to have a copy of Mr. Brougham's Act, and of the Act of the Assembly of Jamaica, by which slaves can no longer be distrained like cattle for the debts of their masters. I should be very much obliged if you could procure for him these and any other printed papers, showing what has taken place on the coast of Africa or in our colonies since the abolition. Direct them to the Baron de Humboldt at

## The Slave Trade

Paris, to the care of the English Ambassador there, as he is on very good terms both with Sir Charles Stuart and with the Duke of Wellington. Lord Holland means to write to Mr. Macaulay or to Mr. Clarkson to make the same request, but as it is possible he may not have time to do so, I think it better to mention it to you, in order that it may be done without loss of time. M. Humboldt is very zealous in the cause, and finding him at the same time very anxious to have permission to travel through our East Indian possessions in order to go to Thibet, I have assured him that nothing could be of more use to him towards obtaining that permission from the India Company than any service he could render the abolitionists, as Mr. Grant and other leading members in the direction were zealous partisans of the abolition. He is in very high estimation here, and anything he may choose to say will have great weight in giving a salutary tone to public opinion in France, which is at present not at all made up on this question. I trust, therefore, the friends of the abolition will not from indolence or inattention allow so good a card to slip from their hands. Mr. Tierney and his family arrived here two days ago, Vernon is also here on his way to Italy. Lord and Lady Jersey return to England by way of Brussels in the beginning of next week. I trust we shall see Horner and Murray either here or at Geneva. We must cross the Simplon early in October.

Yours faithfully,  
J. ALLEN.

# The Slave Trade

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*Oct. 7, 1814.*

I will only say now that the Congress at Vienna seems likely to terminate in a general peace, because the great powers of Europe want it, but I am afraid that the question of the Slave Trade will not be settled upon any satisfactory footing. The utmost that seems likely is to exclude the trade from the northern part of Africa and confine it to the coast of Guinea. Unfortunately Lord Castlereagh has no feeling upon this subject, and his under secretary, Mr. Cooke, is almost friendly to the trade, or at least represented himself so at Paris, lamenting openly that the Ministers here were compelled to give the French Government so much trouble, in consequence of an absurd cry that was raised by Methodists and fanatics.

I hear that the reported follies of the Princess of Wales on the Continent are much exceeded by the actual extravagance of her conduct. I am afraid that our friend Dr. Holland has made an unfortunate determination in becoming part of her establishment.

*Oct. 25, 1814.*

The accounts I hear from Paris are not pleasant or satisfactory. The Bourbons do not advance in popularity ; and the opinion of the weakness, indecision, and bigotry of their Government seems rather to increase.

Their cause also receives great injury from the outrageous proceedings of the Pope and their Bourbon ally King Ferdinand. At the same time there is a great outcry at Paris against the English and their

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late conduct at Washington<sup>1</sup>; respecting which I am afraid there is only one opinion throughout Europe. This unfortunate contest,<sup>2</sup> which interrupts the pacification of the civilised world, cannot be sufficiently lamented. It is disgraceful in its failures and not glorious in its successes. No credit can be gained by it, and it is so unpopular throughout Europe that if long protracted it will involve us more or less with the maritime Powers.

I augur nothing very favourable of the Congress. The nominal independence of Poland will give an additional strength to the overgrown power of Russia and Saxony and Italy; countries far more estimable and important will be made subject to Prussia and Austria—such at least is the general opinion as to the result of the negotiations.

In mentioning the writers of the different articles in the *Edinburgh Review* I should have said that Playfair was the critic of the “*Essai sur les probabilités*” which is the best, perhaps the only good, article in the collection. In general the number (*Edinburgh Review*) is a very indifferent one, and some of the articles particularly objectionable, especially in the reiterated and systematic attacks on the Regent, which disgust by their exaggeration and defeat their own object. Brougham’s long and very indifferent

<sup>1</sup> The English had captured Washington and destroyed the Capitol and the public buildings in revenge for similar burnings on a smaller scale by the Americans in Canada.

<sup>2</sup> The United States had declared war in 1812, in spite of the repeal of the Orders in Council as they were aggrieved at the action of the British Government in stopping American vessels from trading with the Continent unless they first put in at British ports.



## Lord and Lady Holland

article on the Queen Consort is singularly ill-timed, just after the Princess has deserted her daughter and her station in the country, and is exposing herself by her levities in the face of all Europe. A friend of mine who lately met her in Switzerland speaks of her as being in high spirits and triumphant in having got out of England surrounded by a strange Court in which there was no reasonable or respectable person but Dr. Holland.

Oct. 26, 1814.

In concluding my letter to you rather hastily yesterday, I entirely forgot to advert to your inquiry respecting the state of the roads in Italy. It is quite true that Lord and Lady Holland prolonged their stay a little at Geneva, in consequence of what they heard concerning the *avalanches* of the Simplon, and the banditti of the Mont Cenis. But her ladyship is easily alarmed, and slight rumours would be sufficient to produce inquiry and investigation. The result was that, after a few days' delay, they set out by way of the Simplon, and arrived at Milan on the 4th. They write in good spirits, and appear to have had a most prosperous journey, and, as they meant to, set out in a few days for Florence.

Mackintosh, from whom I have lately heard, has crossed the Alps twice, having returned by the Simplon, and speaks with great admiration of that magnificent road. Horner, who has been at Milan, went by the Simplon and returned by Mont Cenis, and I have not heard of his experiencing any difficulty or inconvenience.

## The Princess of Wales

*Nov. 14, 1814.*

I have just received an account from Lord and Lady Holland of their safe arrival at Florence on the 16th. They seem to have experienced no difficulty or danger on their journey. But Italy, nevertheless, is in a great ferment; especially the kingdom of Naples, where they are apprehensive that the Sicilian Bourbons will be again forced on the throne. Of all the Italian States, Tuscany alone seems to be well satisfied with the restoration of the old order of things.

*Nov. 26, 1814.*

I have heard of the particulars respecting the Empress Maria Louisa communicated by Dr. Holland, some of which have been unluckily published in the newspapers, and he may get into some difficulty. We have heard a great deal of the Princess of Wales's proceedings abroad, which are marked by great levity and procure her no respect in any quarter. I am almost sorry that he appears to be so much pleased with his situation, which is generally considered by impartial observers as not an eligible one. It is melancholy to see a man of sense and merit dressed in a fantastic military *costume* the follower of a disorderly second-rate refugee Court, and the only respectable individual in a motley miscellaneous establishment. This is literally the account that I hear, but take care not to quote my authority on the subject.

*Dec. 3, 1814*

The Ministers are quite delighted to get rid of Parliament, and to close their short session, in which there has been better speaking on the part of the Opposition

## The Duke of Wellington

and more decided failures on the part of the Government than were almost ever known, but it is all to no purpose. The public are wholly indifferent, and the Parliament torpid or worse, since Bankes, Wilberforce, and the rest of the country gentlemen and "Saints," cling more closely to the Ministers in proportion to their weakness and insufficiency.

There are rumours of partial changes ; and it would not be wonderful if in due time Lord Liverpool was to give way to Lord Castlereagh, considering the connection of the latter with Hertford House. But the public have no interest in such movements, and of the two I should prefer Lord Liverpool as I prefer Vansittart to Huskisson. The accounts from Paris are very gloomy. The Government are more and more despised, and the English more and more hated every day. Twenty thousand disbanded soldiers, most of them without resources, are a very formidable body. The Duke of Wellington is very unpopular, and was most improperly sent on that mission. I hope that the peace will last long enough to enable us to see a little of the Continent, but I cannot look to its continuance.

Dec. 17, 1814.

I was extremely glad to hear that the Lansdowne<sup>1</sup> visit had succeeded so entirely, there could indeed be little or no doubt, as they are the most correct and uniform in their manners and tempers almost of any persons that I know in *any rank* ; but such things are always in a certain degree experimental.

<sup>1</sup> A visit paid by Lord and Lady Lansdowne to Mr. and Mrs. Smith at Easton Grey.

## Lady Holland in Rome

We have no particular news, but the opinion is very prevalent that we shall have peace with America, and that the affairs of the Congress are going on unfavourably : this last report, I am afraid, is but too certain. I cannot exactly make out what is the meaning or effect of the late change of administration at Paris by which Soult is Minister of War. It must be done to conciliate the Army, and accompanied as it is by the appointment of Suchet to the government of Alsace, looks rather inauspiciously for the peace of the Continent.

*From Lady Holland to Mr. Whishaw.*

ROME, Dec. 17, 1814.

MY DEAR MR. WHISHAW,—I have been much disappointed at your silence. So long an interval has never elapsed before between your letters. This reproach should have been made sooner, but my health has been wretched, nearly thirty days of severe bilious cholic, attended with the most excruciating pain, confined me chiefly to my fireside, couch, and sometimes bed. Unwarily we trusted my precious person to the skill of a Roman physician, who administered very strong acid extracted from tamarinds. I leave you to guess the torture they inflicted. However, opium and a change of habitation produced a salutary effect, and I am now beginning to crawl in my limited way to see the wonders of this great city. The French have done less for it than for any other possession. The improvements are chiefly for the antiquary, and even these fewer than might have been expected. Ground

## Lady Holland in Rome

has been removed to give the full height of the shafts to the columns. The Coliseum stands level with the soil to the base, the arches are all open, and it is seen as perfectly as when it was open for its shows ; but the living Rome is as dirty and insecure as it was twenty years ago. The Napoleon code brought forward young men of talents, and the eloquence of the Bar was considerable ; but they have now reverted to Latin briefs and written pleadings in that tongue. The vigilance of the French police was beginning to be of use, but severely. A man of great truth and accuracy, who was employed in it, told us that during the three years and a half he was engaged in that department, upon a population of 800,000 souls 1,600 were condemned to perpetual hard labour at the galleys, and in the town of Rome in that period, upon a population of 190,000 inhabitants, 11,000 cases of *graves delits* occurred ; and on one Sunday, about three weeks before the French Government broke up, thirty murders happened. The murders almost always proceed from the first impulsion, from wine, or jealousy of lovers, not husbands—they, good people, are very tractable. The advantage of the French administration of justice was the promptness of punishment, blood for blood ; now these offences are mitigated. A week ago a convicted murderer was pardoned, because he had formerly served a Cardinal, and it would have been derogatory to his Eminence that any person who had been in his service should perish by an ignominious death, so he was let off, after witnessing the execution of his confederate who had no such claim, and condemned to the galleys.

## Lady Holland in Rome

A cruel mode of torture which was invented by that useful Pope but cruel man Sixtus V. is revived, and the horrid machine is erected in the public promenade of the town which is in the finest street, the Corso. The machine is called the Charda ; it is a pole about sixty feet in height, the culprit is drawn up by pulleys, and allowed to fall upon the stones, by which his shoulders are dislocated, and if the executioners are willing his limbs broken ; this is inflicted for very trifling offences. Of course the friars and monks are repeopling their convents and monasteries ; to the latter their lands are restored, but as yet the faith is slack ; however, it will come ; already the credulous believe his Holiness has worked miracles, and his tattered garments, especially those he wore in prison at Fontainebleau, have, when properly administered, restored the blind and the halt.

Sanctuary is not yet restored, and a criminal has no means of escape but by his heels, or by the misplaced compassion of those who will conceal him ; this is, so far, an abuse less than formerly.

The English are very numerous and increasing daily ; they have assemblies as full and as late as those you are now suffering from in London. My health is a good plea against them, so I am at home without invitations and crowds, and see as many foreigners as I can without excluding my own countrymen. We have got a decent house, which was the habitation of poor King Louis ; it is in the Corso, and I have the pleasure of seeing and hearing from my windows all the *beau monde* of Rome, and all the din of the market, fried fish, and

## Lady Holland in Rome

various other circumstances which I enjoy in a foreign tour.

Lucien Buonaparte, who has added to that illustrious name the title of "Canino," in order to secure to himself *a pied a terre* in this wide world, is a most interesting person ; his appearance is grave, his manners good, and his countenance bears the same grand character of the family. He has just sent me the six first cantos of his poem, which I have not read, but see it is in a most pious strain, calculated to aid the orisons of his Holiness in his oratory, but it is probably well adapted to his views and the times. His wife is an interesting pretty woman, and they are a pattern of conjugal felicity, so perhaps he did well in renouncing a kingdom to retain her. His brother Louis, the Comte de St. Leu, is much respected, but his health and habits make him live in retirement. The other brother ex-kings have been refused an asylum here, not from any apprehension of their talents, but his Holiness did not choose this place to be the rendezvous of the family.

Cardinal Fieschi is a jolly, coarse-minded parson, as round and ruddy as many we could show in England, and to the full as worldly and attached to the fat good things of this life. Sir Humphry and Lady Davy are very obliging and amiable. He is employed in analysing the colour used by the ancients in the paintings of their baths, and he thinks he has made some discovery upon the blue colour which will be useful to our artists ; but I am not *blue* enough in chemistry to tell you what it is, so you must wait for his paper upon the subject. Of Elba and the prodigy

## Lady Holland in Rome

there I will tell you nothing, for Mr. Vernon, who has gone over to plead his own cause in the court of love to the Archbishop,<sup>1</sup> will give you so much more than I can. All I will say is that, to obtain a gracious reception, he stated that he was Lord Holland's relation! and with vanity I add he was admirably received.

The English who are here would, if enumerated, fill a page, but you shall have them: our Davys, Macdonalds, Blackburnes, Rawdons, Westmoreland, Wood, Byng (Poodle), Anstruther, Lord Brownlow, Gages, Foleys, &c., *Je ne sais au bout de mon latin*, oh! fie! dear Rogers, Boddingtons coming from Florence, Bedfords, Lucans, Cawdor, Cunninghams, Lord Clare. The Papal territory is so full because of the fear of banditti, and the uncertain state of Murat keeps foreigners from Naples. The story is that our Princess<sup>2</sup> has quarrelled with the Court, and Lady Oxford writes to her sister Mrs. Ord, that H.R.H. is as mad as the rest of her family. Canova is as good in society as he is excellent in sculpture, his countenance is full of genius; I admire his works, but not the Hebe for Lord Cawdor—of this you may soon judge, as it will go over—but her countenance is too old and serious, and the flutter of drapery gives an appearance of a pair of wings on her hips. His Bacchantes are delicious. A Danish artist<sup>3</sup> is reckoned to excel him in his *basso relievos* and to be approaching in figures. Painters are bad, quite in the bad, stiff

<sup>1</sup> Hon. Edward Harcourt, Archbishop of York.

<sup>2</sup> Princess of Wales.

<sup>3</sup> Thorwaldsen.



## Napoleon in Elba

style of David's school, correct drawing, no colouring or expression. I will release you with apologies for this tedious scrawl.

Your affectionate

E. V. HOLLAND.

*From Lady Mackintosh<sup>1</sup> to Mr. Whishaw.*

GREAT GEORGE STREET,

*Thursday, Dec. 22, 1814.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I have this instant received your letter and have put aside the one I am writing to Mackintosh, that I may have time to tell you some more of the ex-Emperor's conversation to Mr. Vernon and his friends Douglas<sup>2</sup> and Fazakerley and other matters, an account of which I received from M. yesterday or the day before. I have begun giving my little details in two successive letters to Mrs. Smith and Miss Fox, and as they will probably

<sup>1</sup> Lady Mackintosh was Catherine, daughter of J. Allen, of Creselly, a sister of Madame Sismondi.

<sup>2</sup> The Hon. Frederick Sylvester North Douglas, only son of Lord Glenbervie—who had married the only daughter of Lord North, the Prime Minister. Through the influence of the Norths he was returned to Parliament for their pocket borough of Banbury, at the elections of 1812 and 1818. He soon became prominent as a fierce opponent of Napoleon, but was a Whig in domestic politics. He died in October, 1819, in his twenty-ninth year. He had inherited the classical attainments and playful humour of Lord North, and great expectations had been formed of his future career. For two years he was absent from England, and, after having visited Spain and Portugal, spent more than a year in Greece and Turkey. He published an essay on certain points of resemblance between the ancient and modern Greeks, which led Lord Byron to call him "The modern Greek."

## Napoleon in Elba

follow Miss Fox to Bowood, you will be likely to see the whole at once of what I have to communicate. My account is from Douglas, who went to the Gulf of Spezzia, and by Lucca and Pisa to Leghorn, where he embarked in a British sloop of war which brought him in twelve hours to Porto Ferraio. He sent a note to the Governor to inform him that Mr. Douglas, a member of the British Parliament, was desirous of the honour of being presented to his Imperial Majesty. In two days after he received an appointment to go to the Palace at eight in the evening. He found the house mean, a single sentinel at the door, who showed him to a kind of antechamber, of which the furniture consisted of a broken sofa and two chairs, lighted by one lamp with two burners of which one only was lighted. In a quarter of an hour Buonaparte came from an inner room ; the ground floor consisting of only two rooms and the rooms above being occupied by the Princess Pauline.

He overwhelmed Douglas with a rattle of questions about George III., but, in the manner of all sovereigns, did not wait for the answers, Douglas's family, the place he represented in Parliament, the cause of his travelling, &c. He showed an unaccountable knowledge of the difference of Scotch and English law, and a most unaccountable ignorance of the most important parts of the British Constitution.

He thought the Peers had a right of nominating a certain number of members of the House of Commons, and that some Peers had the right of sitting in either House as they pleased. He said

## Napoleon in Elba

that England had humbled France enough, by imposing upon her the yoke of the Bourbons without also wresting from her all her conquests, and that it was vain to think of compressing her within her ancient limits, "Que c'était comprimer l'air dans des bornes trop étroites qui échapperait avec le bruit de tonnerre." "La France n'est pas épuisée ; elle contient une jeunesse passionnée pour la guerre ; elle a 500,000 hommes accoutumés aux armes, un coup de vent s'élèvera du sein de la France qui bouleversera une seconde fois l'Europe." (I trust his said Majesty is no more a prophet than a saint.) Then changing his tone and lowering his voice he said, "Mais cela me ne regarde pas. Je suis mort."

This would have been effective from the mouth of a better man. He spoke with bitterness of the Emperor Alexander, whom he called *fier et faux*. We were right, he said, in supposing that there was a secret article in the Treaty of Tilsit by which it was agreed that Russia should immediately declare war against Great Britain. Douglas said (I think not very delicately) that he had met the Empress Marie Louise in Switzerland. Buonaparte made no answer, but as soon as Douglas mentioned the Princess of Wales as being of the party, he eagerly asked what was the truth of that strange story. On receiving general evasive answers, he said, "Il parait que vous aimez les vieilles femmes en Angleterre. La Lady Hertford est elle véritablement la mère de ce Yarmouth que nous avons vu a Paris ? Est il possible que votre Prince peut choisir de telles maîtresses dans un pays ou on dit qu'il y a de telles belles femmes." You

## Napoleon in Elba

see he talks *en Turc*, and has no idea that in his gross sense of the word Lady Hertford is probably no more the Princess's mistress than the youngest and most beautiful woman in England, which is at least my opinion, and she is theirs whose opinion is rather more the double point of the morals of our Princes.

On Vernon's said, "Non, mon cher, il n'est pas, il a de l'esprit, de l'esprit françois, il est aimable, mais il ment trop, il ne sait que mentir, on peut mentir une fois, même deux, trois, mais on finit par être connu, et on ne peut rien faire d'avantage."

How well he seems acquainted with the theory as well as the practice of lying. You know, like the E.I.<sup>2</sup> servants, he never told the truth if a lie did as well.

He asked Vernon about his travels. When he said he had been in Switzerland, he asked him if he had been at Coppet, and had seen Madame de Staël, and added, "She speaks as ill of the Bourbons as she did of me." "No," said Vernon, "she expects money from the Bourbons. You must allow, mon cher," he replied, "that she is not an interested woman." There was something generous in this reply.

He talked of his "military errors," but could not

<sup>1</sup> *March 18, 1861.* I dined on Sunday with Lady Waldegrave. George Harcourt (the "Vernon" of Lady Mackintosh's letter) gave me an amusing account of the interview he and Fazakerley had with the Emperor Napoleon at Elba. ("More leaves from H. Greville's Journal.")

<sup>2</sup> *The East Indian.*

## Dr. Holland in Italy

number among them his confidence in Marmont, "A wretch to whom he had given bread from his childhood."

Buonaparte has converted Douglas, who speaks with warmth of his gracious smiles, of his animated eloquence, and of his calm fortitude in his present condition, and with compassion of the meanness of his establishment.

Adieu, I will continue to-morrow ; I must now resume my letter to M., who will be at home very shortly ; he has swallowed so much of Paris that he is sick of it.

C. M.

*From Dr. Holland, while travelling with the Princess of Wales, to Mr. Whishaw.*

NAPLES,

Dec. 30, 1814.

I ought and had intended, my dear Sir, to have written to you at an earlier period, but the multiplicity of objects and events on our journey, and the necessity of completing the manuscript on which I was engaged when leaving England, put aside the performance of this intention for some time.

I do not retrace to you any part of our long journey through Germany, France, or Switzerland, as the keenest appetite for foreign novelties must be glutted with all that has been recently seen and written about these countries. Italian information, too, must now be crowding upon you from the host of travellers who have taken up their winter quarters in Florence,

## Dr. Holland in Italy

Rome, or Naples ; but there is more of novelty left here, and certainly much that is important to the present and future condition of Europe.

We entered Italy in the beginning of October, amidst the unparalleled scenery of the Lago Maggiore, and the marvellous road of the Simplon, which better accredits the Government that executed it than could have done the successful issue of twenty Russian campaigns. A fortnight's residence at Milan was interesting and instructive, as well in reference to the society of the place as to the condition of political feeling in one of the principal centres of Italy.

You must not suppose that the French Government, as such, was popular in this part of Italy. I think I saw the evidence (as far as a fortnight would supply it) that it was otherwise. But the fact stood thus. The events of the preceding years had awakened, and in part called into action the natural spirit of the Italians. The name of kingdom of Italy, partial as were its limits and subordinate its influence, flattered their desires of independence. Napoleon was in some degree regarded as a countryman. It was believed that he had great designs for Italy, and the French jealousy for the moment prevented his giving further extension to his designs. At all events he had created a national name and army, had made Milan a metropolis, and beautified it with public works on a large scale. The changes which have brought back Lombardy to the condition of a province, and which threaten to make it the theatre of future contests to other Powers, have

## Dr. Holland in Italy

thrown a gloom over every expectation. The unpopularity of the Austrian Government could not be mistaken. There is an uncongeniality between their character and that of the Italians which was manifest in a thousand circumstances, and which, doubtless, enhances the feeling of the latter in the loss of their expected independence.

The Austrian Army stood at Milan an insulated mass, sombre itself from national habit, regarded by the Italians with silent or sullen indifference. Society frames no links between them. If Austria is to keep these countries I hope she will be wise enough to appreciate the change which has taken place in the national sentiment for Italy, and to model her manner of government on this basis.

At Florence we remained too short a time, too short for the place, for the Society, and for the memorials of Science and Art which are profusely afforded there. I saw much at this place of our friends Lord Holland and his family, much also of Mr. Ward,<sup>1</sup> the Davys, &c. It was gratifying to me to go through the venerable museum of the Academy with Sir H. Davy, and with him to examine some of the earliest apparatus employed by the experts of the Florentine Academicians. As far as I could judge he has made himself very popular with the men of science of Italy, and I find that his peculiar opinions, still only partially received in England, are generally admitted on the Continent.

At Rome still, more than at Florence, there was cause to be disappointed with the shortness of our

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards first Earl of Dudley.

## Dr. Holland in Italy

stay. No human industry could crowd into five days all that belongs to ancient and modern Rome, the less so as we had much society there, and much courtly visitation among the shreds and remnants of royalty which have settled themselves in this metropolis of the Old World. I know not whether I may venture to say that I was disappointed with ancient Rome, yet in its comparison to Athens I undoubtedly was so. In situation everything is greatly inferior, in material, in the taste and beauty of the workmanship even still more so. In number and mass alone the Roman ruins have superiority, but what they gain from the former circumstance they in part lose again by that dispersion over a large extent of surface. There is no feature in Athens that resembles the Campo Vaccino, but there are features the character and effect of which are more imposing both to eye and imagination. Above all there is a majestic simplicity in what remains of Athens which is comparatively wanting in Rome, partly from the appropriation of what is ancient for new and ordinary purposes, still more, perhaps, from the radical differences of the Greek and Roman architecture. Modern Rome on the whole exceeds my expectations, in the splendour of its edifices, and the still greater magnitude of the galleries of the Vatican and Capitol, which we saw under every advantage under the admirable guidance of Canova. This man is an ornament to modern Italy, abounding in genius and enthusiasm for the fine arts and with a simplicity of carriage which is but rarely to be found among his countrymen of the



## Dr. Holland at Naples

present day. His works are now known throughout Europe. One of the greatest of them has been arrested in the midst of these events which have torn down Napoleon from his throne. And together with the triumphal arch of Milan and other works of similar destination at Naples, it remains as a proof how much slower are the steps of Art than those of Ambition, which showed its sequel while mankind were yet marvelling at its advancement.

We have now been settled about two months at Naples, where H.R.H. has taken a large palace in one of the most agreeable situations within the city, the beautiful bay and its barrier, the Isle of Capri, directly in front of us. Of the actual political state of this country I hardly know what to tell you, and perhaps it were better to say nothing. The city of Naples, as usual, has a fair and luxurious aspect, is crowded with nobility who have never seen their estates, and by a multitude of soldiers, maintained under the military system that now dominates this country.

The Court is at this moment, perhaps, the most splendid in Europe, Ministers, Marshals, Chamberlains, Equerries, and Pages crowd every avenue; costumes are fetched from past centuries, and contend with each other in gorgeous richness of apparel; form and ceremony are stretched to their utmost point of human endurance.

All this is a side-shoot of the late *régime* in France. It is the exaggerated effort of a new dynasty to make itself like to the old ones. *Quid alibi magnificum tumidum alibi* is perfectly true in its application

## Dr. Holland at Naples

here. The whole is like a far-fetched masquerade, and dignity is lost in the too great effort to be dignified.

It is the system (perhaps not wholly an unwise one under present circumstances) to engross about the Court the personal services of the first nobility of the country, and without a fit appreciation of what constitutes the real value of an aristocracy.

One evil that at this moment hangs over the country is the disproportionate magnitude of the Army, swelled to 70,000 or 80,000 men, with appointments that might accredit a country with twice the population and wealth. This is evidently the favourite object of the King, and it may be doubted whether he will ever be inclined to diminish it to the level proper for the country, which at this time is taxed to the last degree for the support of this unwholesome excrescence.

The French are extremely unpopular. It does not seem to me that the King is personally disliked, his character would appear to be that of a good soldier, somewhat too fond of personal finery, by no means cruel, generous to those around him, perhaps not very adroit in his political capacity, but well served by his Ministers, who are themselves exceedingly well paid. Queen Caroline is obviously a woman of great cleverness and masculine intrepidity; to her it is said that much of the stateliness of the Court is due.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Joachim Murat and his wife, Caroline, the sister of Napoleon, had reigned in Naples from 1808. In 1812 he headed the cavalry of the grand army that invaded Russia. After the battle of Leipsic

## Dr. Holland at Naples

The number of English residents here at present is very considerable. Lord Holland, the Westmorelands, and Davys are expected in the course of the winter from Rome. I had a letter yesterday from Mr. Rogers, begging me to seek lodgings for him in this city, to get which at this time it is necessary to pay higher prices than in the midst of London. The English here are excessively *courted* at *Court* and loaded with every sort of civility.

There is an obvious policy in this, and perhaps in the king something of liking also.

I must hasten to a conclusion, my dear Sir, as the gentleman by whom I send this letter is about immediately to depart. I trust it will arrive in safety.

Believe, my dear Sir, most truly yours,

H. HOLLAND.

he hurried back to his kingdom, and having broken with Napoleon entered into negotiations with the Allies.

After the Congress of Vienna (where his kingly title had not been recognised) he declared in favour of Napoleon, on hearing that he had left his retreat at Elba. He marched into Upper Italy, met the Austrians at Tolentino in 1815, where he was defeated, and lost both his army and his throne. He attempted to regain the latter and landed in Calabria, but was captured and brought before a Neapolitan military commission, which condemned him to death, and by whom he was shot. His wife survived till 1839.

## CHAPTER III

1815

Property tax—*Edinburgh Review*—Politics—Mungo Park—The Corn Laws—Buonaparte's landing—Lord Castlereagh's speech—Life of Mungo Park—King of Clubs—Foreign politics—Battle of Waterloo—Death of Whitbread—Brougham—Miss Edgeworth and Park's Journal—Letter from the Edgeworths—The Allies—The Duke of Wellington—Louis XVIII. and the Slave Trade—Treatment of Napoleon and French politics—Sheridan—Lafayette—Duke of Wellington's conduct in Paris—Napoleon's voyage to St. Helena—Holland House—Canova—Binda—Sir Samuel Romilly's visit to Paris—Dr. Holland—Bishop of Gloucester—Lines at Holland House—Sismondi's account of Napoleon—Dr. Holland—Duke of Norfolk—Lord Holland and Duke of Wellington—Lord Castlereagh and the Catholic question—*Edinburgh Review*.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

Feb. 9, 1815.

THE speeches at Gloucester on the petition against the property tax are very creditable to your county. Very good use was made of the suggestion that the idea of this tax ought to be closely associated, or rather identified, with the idea of war, so that when people talk of hostilities and national glory, they may know what is to be calculated upon or expected.

## “Edinburgh Review”

The following are the names of the articles of the last number of the *Edinburgh Review* as far as I know or can guess them:—

- Art. 1. Jeffrey.  
6. Brougham.  
7. Playfair.  
8. Part, I believe, by Mr. Pillans, master of the High School at Edinburgh, but a good deal by Jeffrey.  
10. Brougham.  
11. Chiefly Jeffrey.  
12. Brougham.

There are all sorts of strange reports about changes of Ministers in which I am not in the least of a believer. They originate in the strange secluded life which the Prince has been living at Brighton, without any intercourse or communication with his official servants. I shall content myself with the quotation from Tacitus<sup>1</sup> of a passage which is very justly admired by Gibbon. Have the goodness to show it to Miss Bailey.<sup>2</sup>

*Domitianus*<sup>3</sup> vero,—“umbraculis hortorum abditus, sicut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggeras, jacent, torpentque, presentia præterita, futura, pari oblivione demiserat.”

I am at length putting the finishing hand to Mungo Park, after many interruptions. The work has been done by fits and starts and in a manner very unsatisfactory to myself, but it must take its chance.

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus iii. Hist. c. 36.

<sup>2</sup> A lady who lived with Mr. and Mrs. Smith.

<sup>3</sup> *Vitellius* is the right reading.

## Return of Napoleon

*Feb. 16, 1815.*

I do not know whether you interest yourself much in the Corn Laws, which occupy all conversation here. Our friend Malthus has published a pamphlet <sup>1</sup> in favour of restrictions which is not at all relished by his friends here, but will gain him a great name among the clergy and landed interest. Indeed, we, the poor corn consumers, are no match against these powerful bodies, joined to all Scotland, all Ireland, and now the Executive Government.

All accounts agree that the French Government is acquiring stability, so that I hope we may have peace for a short time; but the Congress deserves everything that can be said against it.

*March 11, 1815.*

We are in a state of the greatest consternation at the news of Buonaparte's landing in France, which, for a time at least, must put a stop to your continental projects. I cannot enter, at present at least, into this tremendous subject; but according to the best intelligence, the enterprise bears a most alarming aspect, and seems likely to involve us in a new continental war, which may be fatal to our finances and Constitution.

*March 15, 1815.*

The political prospect on the Continent appears to be very alarming. The advance of Buonaparte to Lyons, which I quite believe (notwithstanding the discredit thrown on that intelligence by the *Morning*

<sup>1</sup> On the Corn Laws.

## Return of Napoleon

*Chronicle*), seems to show that the troops cannot be relied on, and that there are no means of opposing his march. I am afraid, therefore, that we must look forward to his marching on Paris with as little difficulty as he has done to Lyons, and that he will be reinstated without any delay. The bulk of the people may perhaps be against him (although this is doubtful); but it is upon the soldiery that he depends, and if the spirit that has manifested itself in many of the regiments should be generally prevalent, we may perhaps have a new revolution at Paris in a few days, and the Bourbons in England in a week. If I recollect right, I told you long since how very weak the Government was; having no support either from public opinion or from military force. I doubt whether there will even be a civil war in their favour.

It is stated in the French papers that in consequence of an intimation that the Congress were to dispossess Murat, he had signed a treaty with Buonaparte, and was advancing towards the north of Italy. In that case a general insurrection and revolution may be expected in that country. I am very uneasy about some of my friends who are at Naples.

If Buonaparte is once re-established he will remain; and we must expect an immediate war respecting Belgium. To establish a new confederacy will be difficult; nor would it now possess the same spirit as in 1813 and 1814, having lost a great portion of its moral force in consequence of the acts of the Congress. Buonaparte, on the contrary, will have

## Return of Napoleon

the advantage of coming forward as a new man, to deliver his country from the disgrace of the Bourbon Government.

*March 17, 1815.*

The messenger who has just arrived states that Buonaparte was expected at Paris on Tuesday night or Wednesday morning. His march has been a triumphal procession, he has nowhere experienced the slightest resistance, and the only bloodshed has been that of General Marchand at Grenoble, who was shot by his soldiers on account of his fidelity to Louis XVIII. His proclamation is said to be moderate in many of its terms, but he insists on France being reinstated in its dominions, and particularly Belgium, which will immediately involve us in a new war. Despatches have been sent to Vienna to bring the Duke of Wellington to Brussels, where he may be expected very soon. I am afraid his laurels will be somewhat tarnished, as he will probably be overpowered by numbers and be opposed by the population of the country. It seems as if we were on the eve of a long and terrible war, which may be highly injurious and perhaps fatal to our finances and Constitution. For many years everything in Europe must be entirely military; and there is an end during our time of all peace establishments.

The case is very deplorable; but you will surely consider yourselves fortunate that you were only preparing for your journey. I am very anxious about the Hollands and several other friends now in Italy, principally at Naples.



## Return of Napoleon

*March 21, 1815.*

The state of public affairs is quite deplorable. Since the doubtful gleam of Saturday last all hopes have disappeared, and the prospects of affairs seem to be nearly the worst possible. Accident excepted, we may expect in the course of a few days to hear of Buonaparte's being at Paris. It seems clear that the regular troops will not meet him face to face, and his march is, therefore, unimpeded. The King's speech on the 16th has all the appearance of being an expiring effort; and I hear that the Bourbonistes have no better hope than that of making a respectable stand in the North and West of France, till they can receive assistance from the Allies; a wretched foundation of hope! After what has passed it would be little short of madness to attempt to place the Bourbons on the throne of France; yet I am afraid that this country will be speedily engaged in projects of this description.

Abercrombie tells me that Lord Castlereagh's speech last night was a most disgusting avowal and exhibition of those selfish and profligate principles which have disgraced the conduct of the Allied Powers, especially at the Congress. He came to me this morning in great despair at the state of the country, delivered over, as it now is at this important crisis, to this most abandoned and dangerous system of Politics.

It is some consolation that Lord Grey and (I believe) Lord Grenville are entirely averse to any interference in the internal government of France, or even to a war for the possession of Belgium, which

## Revolution in France

it is impossible for this country to retain against the decided determination of the French Government and people.

You inquire about the Lansdownes. They, of course, have postponed all thoughts of a continental journey till they see what course events take in France. It is a grievous disappointment, especially to Lady L.

*March 27, 1815.*

The new Revolution in France has taken place so rapidly and quietly as to leave no doubt with regard to the goodwill of the great majority of the people towards Buonaparte, or at least of their entire indifference to the Bourbons. To engage in a war for the sake of these latter would be quite unjustifiable; and after the experiment which has proved their unfitness and unpopularity, much more hopeless than in 1793. You will be glad to hear there is a band of Whigs (I am afraid it will be a very small one) decidedly adverse to any war of this description, or even to any war for Belgium, which cannot ultimately be retained against the power of France, aided by the inclinations of a great majority of the inhabitants.

*April 10, 1815.*

I have abundant reason to be satisfied with the success of my publication, but have been a good deal mortified by finding that some of Park's friends consider me as having been unjust towards his memory in my observations relative to his connection with Bryan Edwards. My defence is that I undertook to be the *biographer* of Park, and not to write his *panegyric*, and that I did not think his conduct

## Mungo Park's Journal

relative to the great question of the Slave Trade, upon which his authority had some influence, could bepassed over entirely without animadversion.<sup>1</sup>

I am afraid that we shall certainly have war ; and there will as certainly be a schism between Lord Grenville and Lord Grey,<sup>2</sup> if it has not already taken

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Murray wrote to Mr. Whishaw about the reception of his book as follows :—

1815?

DEAR SIR,—I regret exceedingly that I shall be wholly without the means of satisfying you with the sort of intelligence respecting the Memoir which you appear to expect, as every criticism and opinion that has reached my anxious and interested ear has been most completely favourable.

Gifford and Lord Byron—two persons of opposite tastes and neither of them particularly known to you—have expressed to me their entire satisfaction at its judiciousness and interest of the narrative and its attending remarks, and Sir James Mackintosh is no less pleased with these qualities in it, and is delighted with the ease and elegance of the style in which it is written. Others of less note I have heard speak of it with indiscriminate satisfaction ; and as to the comments of Park's friends, you have too much experience of mankind not to have anticipated the many chances against the possibility of harmonising with the warm but ill-regulated feelings of mere relations.

If your visit be about four o'clock or later, you will probably be rewarded by meeting with Scott or Byron and most likely with both.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

JOHN MURRAY.

<sup>2</sup> On the escape of Napoleon differences of opinion arose between Grenville and Grey on the war question. Grenville maintained that it was impossible to keep peace with Napoleon, and that vigorous hostilities should immediately be commenced ; while Grey declared that it was the duty of the country and the Allies to do everything which they reasonably could to preserve the peace. A correspondence ensued which led to a division among their followers.

## Mungo Park's Journal

place. The best intelligence from France states that Buonaparte is making immense preparations; and there is too much reason to believe that he will make it a war of national feeling and honour.

*April 15, 1815.*

Lord Wellesley has been making great speeches this week; and the Ministers are considered as having made a miserable figure, especially on the question respecting the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

It is pitiable to think of opening a new attack on Buonaparte and the French Empire under such auspices.

You will be pleased to hear that Park's Journal has succeeded far beyond its merits or pretensions; and I am particularly flattered by the commendation which distinguished critics, such as Mackintosh and Horner, have bestowed on the style, which was purposely simple and subdued. The *Edinburgh Review* (by Brougham), which is of course highly favourable, intimates that I have been rather too cautious and timid. But I am satisfied on reflection that the tone that I took was the right one.

I mentioned that Park's friends were dissatisfied; I more seriously lament that Sir Joseph Banks is displeased with me, though he maintains an entire silence. I consider him as under the influence of his prejudices in favour of the Slave Trade.

*April 26, 1815.*

Abercromby has suggested my asking whether you would like to dine at our club<sup>1</sup> on Saturday next, the

<sup>1</sup> The King of Clubs.

## “ King of Clubs ”

29th. The place, you may remember, is the Freemasons' Tavern, and the hour six o'clock. As it is the day of the Royal Academy dinner, Lord Lansdowne, Romilly, and some of our most considerable persons will not be of our party ; but you would probably meet Abercromby and Malthus, and some others whom you may like to see. I have likewise invited Ricardo.

*May 3, 1815.*

Our party on Monday was perhaps a little too numerous. I hope you did not find us too noisy and controversial.

I am glad you have had an opportunity of seeing Miss O'Neill, and that you were so much pleased with her. She is a prodigious addition to the stage.

There are strange reports respecting the prevalence of the Jacobin party at Paris, and the state of coercion to which Napoleon is supposed to be reduced. It is said to be even hazardous for him to leave the metropolis. The Constitution is universally abused as being too monarchical ; and Constant,<sup>1</sup> one of its authors, is almost afraid of showing himself in society. On the other hand, the military preparations are said to be great and incessant. These circumstances afford strong argument for peace, but will have a directly opposite effect.

*July 1, 1815.*

It is impossible not to be a little mortified by the complete triumph of the legitimate Monarchs and of

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Constant, 1767-1830. Distinguished French writer and statesman.

## Waterloo

the war faction in this country. The restoration of Ferdinand of Spain, Ferdinand of Naples, the King of Sardinia, Louis XVIII., and the Pope (all of them in the full vigour of their bigotry, prejudices, and resentments) is a most inauspicious event for the liberty and happiness of Europe ; to say nothing of its obvious effects upon our own country. But the prospect of a constitutional Monarchy under Buonaparte was very unpromising, and could not have been attended with any beneficial consequences to Europe or France. The latter has shown herself utterly unfit to be trusted with prosperity or even with moderate success. Having long abandoned all sanguine hopes of general improvement, I console myself, like you, by looking forward to the certain blessings of peace and tranquillity.

I conclude with an extract from a letter of Colonel Abercromby<sup>1</sup> (our friend's brother) which you may find interesting. He was in the thickest of the late battle, but escaped miraculously with only a slight wound. He has seen much service in Spain.

" BIVOUAC, near CATEAU,

" *June 22, 1815.*

" The fate of Europe has perhaps been decided in one battle ; and from what I have seen I do not wonder at the success of Buonaparte on former occasions. His dispositions and manœuvres were *excellent* ; and his troops must have beat to the Devil any others but the British commanded by such a hero

<sup>1</sup> Son of Sir Ralph Abercromby, brother of the first Lord Dunfermline.

## Death of Whitbread

as Wellington. We are moving on with the Prussians, and the French are still flying. The fugitive will be driven to Paris; for I really do not think he will be able to face us at Laon. The people are all quiet, and receive us as they did in the South, determined pretty much to let the armies fight it out between them."

*July 8, 1815.*

As you are at a distance from all authentic intelligence, you will be anxious to hear what is the true cause of poor Whitbread's shocking fate, respecting which many false reports are circulated. It has originated in some degree from a bad state of health attended with a determination of blood to the head, with which he has been lately affected; but mainly and indeed almost entirely, by the complicated and unprosperous state of the concerns of Drury Lane Theatre, which have for some time given him perpetual uneasiness. He used much influence at the commencement of the concern, with tradesmen and others of that class to become subscribers; and the thoughts of the losses which they would sustain, and of the imputations he would be exposed to, have been continually present to his mind, and at times overpowered his intellects. The clearest evidence, I understand, was given before the coroner's jury, showing great mental derangement; and this ought to be published, as it has been found impossible to conceal the manner of his death.

It is needless to say what a loss, both public and private, has been sustained by Whitbread's death. It cannot during our time be replaced.

## State of France

I hear of no particular news since the capitulation of Paris, which is very unpopular here ; such was the vindictive spirit of the people, and so desirous were they of a little plunder and outrage. Some would not have been sorry for burning and massacres.

*July 20, 1815.*

The state of France seems to be most unfortunate and embarrassing for all parties ; and nothing has happened to alter my opinion relative to the original justice and policy of the war. We had no right to expect such an overthrow of the French as took place at Waterloo ; and the difficulty of placing the Bourbons on the throne, now that we have succeeded in the war, is even greater than what we apprehended. The weak and embarrassed condition of Louis XVIII. is too clearly shown by his soliciting the aid of Jacobin Ministers and calling a new legislative body. It is said to have been Talleyrand's advice that he should remain at Ghent till he received some invitation from Paris ; but that he was desired by the British Government to accompany the Allies into France.

You will be glad to hear that Brougham is just come into Parliament, being brought in by Lord Darlington, for Winchelsea, at the request of Lord Grey.

There is a violent quarrel between the Regent and the Queen on the subject of the new Duchess of Cumberland. The Queen is said to be very ill. If anything should happen to her, the Duchess, who has great powers of insinuation and intrigue, will probably come and play a great part in this country.



## Letter of Maria Edgeworth

Aug. 1, 1815.

I forget whether I told you that I had received a very long and obliging letter from Miss Edgeworth relative to Park's Journal and Life. Mr. E. adds a postscript ; but he has been very ill, and is seriously declining in health. They approve very much in general, but think me somewhat harsh, and are influenced a little by the *Quarterly Review*. But they are of the prudent and cautious school. They have, however, been much interested and entertained ; and the whole family took a part in the question respecting the Niger and the Congo.

*From Miss Edgeworth to Mr. Whishaw.*

EDGEWORTH'S TOWN,

June 27, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR,—At last, after many provoking delays occasioned by Dublin custom-house officers and Dublin booksellers, we have obtained possession of the work you did me the honour and the favour to send us. We have read it with peculiar pleasure, not only from the real merit and interest of the book, but from its coming at a time when we were most certain to feel the full value of literary instruction and entertainment. My father has had an illness which has now lasted many months, but which has never diminished the activity and energy of his mind. Reading, or rather being read to, has been his great resource and solace. You may judge, then, how much his family have felt obliged to the author of the *Life of Mungo Park* for a work which opens so many new views to an inventive mind, at the same time that it gives so

## Letter of Maria Edgeworth

much pleasure to literary taste, as a remarkably judicious composition, free from superfluity either of ornament or detail.

As writers on education, and as persons who are anxious for the improvement of the education of the people of Ireland, we felt an additional interest in that part of the *Life of Park* in which you speak with such forcible eloquence of the advantages that have resulted from the superiority of education among the lower ranks of the people in Scotland.

My father last night employed one of my sisters to make an extract from that invaluable note of yours on this subject, and he will have it inserted in an excellent paper which has lately been published in this country, for the special use of the people, *The Irish Farmers' Journal and Weekly Intelligencer*. We could not venture to make so copious an extract as we could have wished, or to state some of the strongest facts, lest our extract should have proved too strongly bitter and utterly unpalatable to those for whom it was intended.

Do you, my dear Sir, in things of lesser importance admit of such sacrifices of the right to the expedient? In matters of importance I see you are inexorable. Have you not been rather too severe upon Park for his truism about the Slave Trade? First you decide that "his silence must more than his speeches offend," and then you take exception at the first and only words the poor man says, by inferring that more is meant than meets the ear. You convert a harmless, perhaps a cowardly, but by your own statement a powerless, truism into a dangerous innuendo.

## Letter of Maria Edgeworth

*(Miss Edgeworth discusses at great length the question as to whether Park's account of his travels was written by himself, or whether he had been helped by others.)*

As to the general question whether an author of voyages and travels ought to accept of assistance from a professional writer in preparing his work for the public, you have with perfect liberality allowed that this is countenanced by the practice of many of our most celebrated navigators and travellers, and justified in some instances by the necessity of the case. But I perfectly agree with you in opinion that, wherever the traveller can, he ought for his own sake, and for the satisfaction and advantage of the public, to state his facts and deliver his tale, varnished or unvarnished, after his own fashion. Of this Mr. Park himself is a striking proof, and you have put it in the power of the public to see and judge of this proof. You have judiciously published, without correction, alteration, or embellishment, Park's last Journal; and every one accustomed to literature and to see literary manufacture can, from these imperfect notes and hints, judge how capable Park was of writing for himself, and how much more interesting he might have made his travels by his own style, simple and unadorned, than by borrowing the pen of a practised writer, who would give flourishes and rhetoric, but could not give the stamp of truth, that inimitable stamp which happily defies all counterfeit, and is of more value even for its power to interest than the famous *cachet* of Voltaire or of any other writer in this world of writers.

There are many facts in Park's Journal, curious in

## Letter of Maria Edgeworth

themselves, and still more interesting in opening new views and affording a scent of new discoveries. The barbarism and civilisation existing at one and the same time among these Africans, their gold washing and their gold and iron smelting, and their gunpowder making, and their elegant mud mosques, and their famous Timbuctoo, and their kings' sons stealing great-coats and their kings delighting in the shrieks of the criminals they have executed, form altogether a new combination, a new picture for the historian ; and for the natural historian, geologist, mineralogist, and chemist, there is surely much to hope from " kingdoms they have yet to subdue " in Africa.

The geologist must not make up decisively his system of the world till he learns more of this new world. The chemist will be eager to have the analysing of the rust of gold, and if there be an alchemist left in the world he must look for the philosopher's stone in the golden sand of Africa, and must take your pretty little black washerwomen to assist in the projection.

Will you be so good as to tell me by whom that print and the other very neat woodcuts in your book were executed ? and say whether we should have any chance of engaging the artist at any moderate price to execute some vignettes for children's books ?

. . . . .

When we began to read Park's travels I thought I could not feel such interest in the course of the Niger, Zad, or Congo ; but by degrees I caught the general enthusiasm, and this whole family are now as mad as you or Park could have wished on this subject, and

## Letter of Maria Edgeworth

as vehement in the discussion of the several reasons on Park's and Rennell's<sup>1</sup> side of the question. At all events, I am glad the father of history is upon this occasion proved not to have been the father of lies, and that the Niger was seen by Park to flow, as Herodotus described it hundreds of years ago, from west to east.

I am glad that the old lake is there, and very sorry Park, when so near Sillee as that, could not reach it, but was forced to turn back like the prince in the Arabian tales, who was in sight of the golden water and the singing tree when forced to turn back. As to this grand question of the Niger, upon collecting votes we find that this whole family are for Mr. Park's opinion, and think it is the Zad and the Congo. But, like Irish arbitrators upon a reference, we incline to split the difference, and we would decide, for Major Rennell's satisfaction, that the Niger should empty itself into the lake nobody knows where. But then, why should it be lost there? Why should it not flow through said lake (as, if precedent be required, the Rhone flows through the Lake of Geneva)? Why should not the Niger pursue its course, changing its name to Zad, or Congo or Zaire, as it pleaseth, till it pours through its terrible mouth into the sea?

Is that mouth so terrible? Is the navigation of the Zaire from the western coast so dangerous as to be quite impracticable? This is a question on which another of great importance depends, for if it were practicable, would it not be wise to try to pursue the course of the Congo till it be proved from where that

<sup>1</sup> Major Rennell, F.G.S.

## Letter of R. L. Edgeworth

river rises, and whether it joins the lake or the Niger? This and some other points relative to a new expedition to Africa have been eagerly discussed by my father and brother since we have been reading your work. My father, however, claims the pleasure of giving you his own thoughts, and he who has always been so good as to undertake for me all the business part of our literary partnership will answer your note about Murray the bookseller, which Lady Romilly communicated to us. Accept, dear Sir, my thanks for the obliging interest you show in our concerns, and believe me,

Gratefully and sincerely your obedt. servant,

MARIA EDGEWORTH.

My father has been confined to his bed with rheumatism and bilious sickness, till late this evening, is so indifferent that he cannot write for himself, and he desires me to hold the pen for him.

With respect to the question of the Niger, the possibility of its being evaporated from a lake which served as a reservoir for its waters must depend on the size of that lake, and with this we are unacquainted. However, as we know of no such method of disposing of the waters of a mighty river in any other part of the world, we are upon this point in a field of unbounded conjecture.

The possibility of traversing a hostile country in balloons is not hopeless. I know the means of conducting a balloon in perfectly calm weather. Whether such a calm can be found in any habitable regions of the air is yet to be determined. What periodical winds may reign over the sandy deserts of Africa

## Letter of R. L. Edgeworth

is also a question yet to be answered. In the proper season an aerial voyage over the whole tract which Park traversed might be passed in a very few days. The voyagers might alight in the desert in safety, and their celestial descent among the savages in a populous part of the country would ensure them not only safety but adoration.—*Sed referre gradum!* Nothing is so disgraceful to the scientific history of the present age as the mere mercenary use that has been made of balloons. Montgolfier, whom I knew at Paris, deplored the unworthy use that had been made of his invention.

With respect to Mr Murray, the bookseller, I return you my acknowledgments for the interest you take in our literary adventures. The partnership that subsisted between the nephew of the late excellent Joseph Johnson has been dissolved, but the business is still carried on at the same house by Mr. R. Hunter, one of Johnson's nephews, who retains the copyright of our works. The gentleman to whom, after the death of Mr. Johnson, we were attached, was another nephew of his, Mr. Miles, who has quitted business. We have had no business with Mr. Hunter, to whom we are in no way bound. If we find him different from what Johnson's nephew ought to be, we shall attend to your recommendation. Johnson had promised my daughter a certain price for the three first volumes of "Fashionable Tales." On the day he died, Johnson, finding himself ill, desired his nephew Miles, who was alone with him, to give Miss E. credit in his books for double the sum which he had promised. Of this, Miles was so impatient to inform us, that

## State of France

he wrote by post to us that very night after his uncle's death.

Without any stipulation he gave two thousand guineas for "Patronage." This, undoubtedly, must have been done by the consent of his partner, Mr. Hunter ; but we take it for granted that Mr. M. was the person who arranged the business. . . .

I am, dear Sir, with great regard,

Your obedt. servant,

RICH. LOVELL EDGEWORTH.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*Aug. 10, 1815.*

I promised to write something about politics. All accounts agree as to the very disturbed state of France, and the difficulty of establishing the Bourbons. That which now takes place is only a continuation of the error committed by the Allies last year, in which it is melancholy to think that Great Britain took the lead, namely, the restoration of Louis XVIII., without considering whether he was sufficiently supported by public opinion, or had sufficient virtue or talents to enable him to regain the confidence which the family had lost. Whatever may be the crimes of France, or however desirable it may be that there should be a settled and moderate Government in that country, one cannot possibly wish success to this great violation of the great principle of national independence.

It will probably bring with it its own punishment. The Allies are certainly in a very embarrassing state ; for they cannot continue to hold France as a conquered



## The Duke of Wellington

country very long, and every hour of their stay adds to the difficulties of Louis XVIII., and diminishes his chances of ultimate success. All letters from Paris state that the English are universally popular as *contrasted* with the Prussians, who are much disliked both by foes and friends; their conduct has given great disgust even to the rest of the Allies. They are very insolent and pay for nothing; whilst the English, who pay for everything, are at the same time very civil to their hosts.

Blucher, who has established himself at St. Cloud, conducts himself like a captain of freebooters, and in some cases has encouraged his soldiers to new excesses, both by precept and example. The Duke of Wellington, who has interfered very honourably in some cases, is for the most part a calm spectator, and appears to take little real interest in what is passing. He is thus described in a letter from Paris, which I have just seen :—

“ Le Duc de Wellington, ce héros froid et mediocre, que la nature a crée pour prouver que la science militaire peut exister sans autres talens, et l'intégrité pécuniaire sans autres vertus.” Notwithstanding the epigrammatic turn of this sentence, I believe it on the whole to be a pretty fair representation.

Aug. 16, 1815.

You will rejoice to hear that Louis XVIII. has consented, though with some unwillingness, to the total abolition of the Slave Trade. For this we are unquestionably indebted to the return of Buonaparte, who has lately been heard to say that he was satisfied

## Napoleon

from accurate inquiry that the trade was in no way beneficial to France, being carried on with British capital. It is certainly a great triumph. The only two countries where this traffic has not now been abolished are Spain and Portugal.

The treatment of Buonaparte, which has the appearance of being in some respects harsh and rigorous, has produced a good deal of sympathy in his favour ; much of the conversation which you have read in the papers is given with tolerable exactness ; though several of the questions are rude and offensive, when Napoleon's situation is considered. These were chiefly put to him by Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton, member for Worcestershire, but principally the latter. Almost every one who has come into contact with Napoleon has been fascinated by his manners and deportment. No one more so than Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*, who writes to his friends, that he never met with a man more agreeable and engaging, and few so well informed. Sir Henry Bunbury, who communicated to him the resolution of the Cabinet, states that he received the intelligence with the utmost composure ; after which he addressed Lord Keith in a speech of some length, remonstrating against the hardship of the decision with great ability, and in a strain of feeling and eloquence. The impression which he made on them was, upon the whole, very favourable. The parting scene with Savary, Lallemand, and the Polish officers was very affecting ; and several of those present shed tears. He talked much with Lyttleton respecting Whitbread and the cause of his death, and asked whether Ponsonby would succeed him as leader

## The Allies

of the Opposition. He desired him to describe the peculiar eloquence of Lord Grey.

For my own part I must confess that *my* heart is a good deal hardened against this deserter of the cause of freedom, and profligate and inveterate warrior. But I entirely disapprove of all unnecessary harshness, such as keeping his friends from him, and taking away 4,000 gold napoleons, lest he should attempt to bribe the soldiers.

WYMOUTH, Aug. 31, 1815.

You ask me for politics, but I have very little to say. What is now taking place at Paris affords the best justification of those who condemned the renewal of the war, on the grounds both of justice and sound policy. After the astonishing and unexpected success of the Duke of Wellington, the situation of the Allies is difficult and embarrassing in the extreme. They have not only violated their engagements, but have probably committed a fatal error (with reference to the general peace and settlement of Europe) in placing upon the throne of France a man who has no army, no public opinion in his favour, no talents for government, and who must be supported by foreign arms. It seems impossible that such a state of things should be of long continuance; and it is very desirable for the sake of example that such unprincipled conduct should be punished. I was very much pleased the other day by hearing, in a large party in Holland House, a very eloquent *tirade* against the "Corporation of Sovereigns combined against the rights of independent nations" from Sheridan, who displayed upon

## Napoleon

this occasion a spirit of vigour which reminded me of *old times*. He concluded, unfortunately, by talking and drinking himself into a state of intoxication, which put a speedy end to the illusion.

I forget if I told you that Abercromby, when at Paris, saw many appearances, as he thought, of a strong and deep feeling of the humiliation inflicted on them by the Sovereigns of Europe. He saw some excellent individuals, and was particularly pleased with Lafayette, who seems to be a virtuous and excellent man, still ardent for liberty, but wholly unfitted by the simplicity of his character for those arduous transactions in which he has borne so distinguished but so unfortunate a part. Abercromby says it is the general opinion that the Liberal party acted a most unwise part in not trusting Napoleon under the circumstances in which the nation was placed, with the supreme power ; and their folly in supposing that the abdication of Napoleon would cause the Allies to stop in their career, is an act of credulity to which history affords no parallel.

With respect to the treatment of Napoleon, I think that those among his friends who wished it should have been suffered to accompany him ; but I do not object to St. Helena as the place of his confinement. One laments the necessity of condemning a man of great powers to a state of banishment, which to him must be very little superior to solitary imprisonment ; but some strong measure of the sort appears to be indispensable ; and it is a characteristic and appropriate punishment for a man whose military exploits have been the constant subject of anxiety and alarm in Europe for the

## Duke of Wellington

last twenty years, that he should be consigned for the rest of his life to a state of hopeless obscurity. Observe that my hatred of him is not founded on his real or supposed crimes so much talked of in the *Times* and *Quarterly Review*, but upon his constant hostility to the principles of liberty to which he owed all his success, and upon that restless activity and insatiable ambition which has been the principal cause of the dreadful wars of the last twenty years, and of the present convulsed state of Europe.

Oct. 17, 1815.

London is very empty, and I have seen very few people ; but I am going to Holland House for a few days to-morrow, and shall then be in the way of hearing what is going on. There are evidently great complaints of the Duke of Wellington for his conduct respecting the pictures and statues, in the removal of which he contrived to take the principal share without any necessity or any advantage to the British nation. He is the object of eternal lampoons and placards, and has rendered himself and the English thoroughly unpopular in Paris. Caldwell,<sup>1</sup> who was there at the time, says that nothing could be more striking than the complete change of opinion and manner towards the English, which the proceedings at the Louvre occasioned. In the principal part of the transactions our countrymen were very conspicuous ; and the English engineers assisted the Austrians in

<sup>1</sup> George Caldwell, of Jesus College, Cambridge, graduated B.A. 1795, being tenth wrangler, and senior Chancellor's medallist. He took orders, and was for many years fellow and tutor of his college.

## Duke of Wellington

the removal of the great horses from the Tuilleries. It was very right that the works of art should be restored to their proper owners ; but this should have been done by a formal declaration of the Sovereigns, or rather, by distinct treaty ; and it should have been done *in the first instance*, instead of being, as it now appears, an act of arbitrary and capricious violence. The Duke's letter makes out a very indifferent case ; where there is a positive treaty it is idle to talk of *understandings* between the two Sovereigns ; and the lecture that he reads to the French on the folly and vanity of a spirit of conquest, considering the circumstances under which it is published, is one of the greatest insults ever offered to a nation. Though much that he says is very true, the publication is equally offensive and injudicious.

The terms of the *Peace* (as it is called), of which the outlines are already known, will be very popular with the readers of the *Times* and *Courier*, who think that the rights of conquest cannot be pushed too far or France too much degraded. It is the most wretched termination of a great and successful contest that the world has ever seen, and the difficulties in which the new arrangement will involve us will afford the best practical comment on the impolicy of the present war, and the injustice and impropriety of interfering in the concerns of independent nations.

You know that an Ambassador is going out immediately to China. Lord Amherst, who is appointed to this service, is a particular friend of Lord and Lady Holland, and, on their suggestion, has offered the appointment of Physician to the Embassy to Dr.

## Napoleon

Holland, who is now on the Continent, travelling with the Philips. Letters are despatched after him in every direction ; and I hope he will accept the offer. It may be the means of giving the public a good book on China, whilst it furnishes him with a very sufficient pretext for putting an end to his unpleasant connection with the Princess.

Oct. 28, 1815.

Intending to pass only three days at Holland House, I have been detained most agreeably for ten days ; and I have for some time hoped to give you an account of what I have seen and heard.

For the present you must be satisfied with a few anecdotes relative to Buonaparte's voyage.

Admiral Fleming, who dined yesterday at Holland House, has had a letter from Sir George Cockburn, dated off Madeira, who says that Buonaparte has been in excellent spirits during the voyage, but that he is *lethargic* and incapable of reading or writing for any length of time. He sleeps fourteen out of the twenty-four hours. He has taken a great deal to playing at cards, of which he was quite ignorant when he left Plymouth, but now he has learnt several games, and plays so well that he beats everybody. Sir George had lost 130 napoleons to him the evening before, and said that if he went on he should be stripped of the whole profits of the voyage.

Buonaparte had ingratiated himself as usual with the ship's crew during the voyage, and was universally popular. We have had several times Sir Hudson Lowe, the new Governor of St. Helena ; an intelligent man and considerable military officer. He will do his

## Holland House

duty honourably and liberally, without any unnecessary harshness. He is taking out for Buonaparte a considerable collection of books, in which are many of his own particular choice; especially some mathematical works and a complete set of the best French translations of the classics. There are many novels for Madame Bertrand.

Nov. 2, 1815.

I am happy to inform you that Scarlett<sup>1</sup> arrived in town this morning. I sat with him an hour and he gave me a very agreeable account of his visit to Paris. He partakes in all our sentiments as to the unjustifiable and impolitic conduct of the Allies, and their prime agent the Duke of Wellington.

The Romillys also are arrived, full of the same sentiments. They were a week at Paris, and had the best means of observing and judging. From them and from others I have learnt many particulars which I hope soon to communicate to you.

Nov. 8, 1815.

It is time to say something of my late visit to Holland House, which was a curious moving scene of all nations and languages. Our parties consisted of Bessboroughs and Lord Erskine (*without his star*),<sup>2</sup> Spaniards of various parties (all of them banished or proscribed), a very intelligent deputy from Buenos Ayres, Rogers and the Romillys just arrived from the Continent, and latterly the great sculptor Canova,

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Scarlett, first Lord Abinger.

<sup>2</sup> The insignia of the Thistle, which Lord Erskine was supposed to wear on every occasion.



## Canova

and his brother, an Italian Abbate and *savant*. I must not omit Miss Fox and Miss Vernon, who were very generally of our parties and great additions to them. By far the most interesting in the group was Canova. To a very striking physiognomy he adds great simplicity of manner, an easy and natural flow of conversation, with occasional traits of gentle unobtrusive humour, great enthusiasm for the Arts, and a disposition apparently the most amiable. He gave us the characters of the late and present Popes, and related with great spirit some of his numerous conversations with Buonaparte, who condescended to talk with him in his native Venetian dialect, and treated him with the greatest kindness, though he pleaded the cause of the Pope, then in captivity, and spoke of war and conquest as the enemies of the Arts with great disrespect. The Abbate Canova is a very pleasing man, but without any marks of the sculptor's genius. He is entirely devoted to his brother, with whom he constantly lives ; and he generally reads to the artist when the latter is engaged at his work. I inquired what were their usual books, and understood that they were generally Italian poets or some of the classic authors, whom the Abbate translated as he read with occasional comments and observations. This seems to me very natural and pleasing, and Lord Holland says it is extremely illustrative of the Venetian character, which is remarkably gentle and amiable.

Canova is extremely pleased with the Elgin Marbles, which he says are alone worth a journey to England. He gives no praise to Westminster Abbey but says, "*Il y a quelques beaux idées.*"



ANTONIO CANOVA.  
*From an engraving by Worthington, after Fabre.*



*To face p. 120.*

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## Binda

Of our artists, Flaxman is most his favourite. I have not yet heard what he says of our architecture.

Among those whom I met at Holland House I must not forget a young Italian of the name of Binda, who has been an intimate there for a considerable time. His history is somewhat interesting. He was connected with the late Roman and Neapolitan Governments, and has been thrown out of a brilliant career of fortune by the late revolution in Italy. During his prosperity he collected a good library and some curious manuscripts and autographs. These latter he has now brought to England with the intention of disposing of them to the Museum, where there seems to be a disposition to purchase them. I have been of some little use to him in this negotiation, and his gratitude and acknowledgments are unbounded.

He became much connected at Rome last winter with the Hollands and Bedfords, both of whom invited him to England ; he is very kind and amiable, and has a great deal of information. I am much disposed to improve my acquaintance with him, and shall have opportunities of doing so as he is likely to remain in England for some little time. If he travels and goes to Bath I may perhaps send him to Easton Grey.

*Nov. 10.*

I was interrupted the night before last, and could not resume my pen yesterday. I am now writing at a very early hour and hope to finish before breakfast. Before I go again into politics I must tell you that I

## The Peace

dined yesterday with Warburton,<sup>1</sup> and had a very agreeable day with him and Howard. He spoke with great praise of Easton Grey, but was very severe on your neighbours and on provincial society in general. A stranger hearing him would have supposed that he was a great admirer of the polished conversation of the Metropolis, the only difference being that he extremely dislikes the one society and entirely neglects the other. We talked a little about politics, but both he and Howard (especially the latter) seemed to fall considerably short of the proper degree of *indignation* against the conduct of the Allies, which is felt by yourself, Abercromby, Benyon, Horner, the Hollands, and I think also by Lord Lansdowne. The Treaty of Peace, as it is called, is said to have been signed and will arrive in London early next week. I am afraid that it will be very popular. The sentiments of many real friends of liberty are unfortunately much warped by their hatred of Buonaparte and the French nation. Of this I have observed several melancholy specimens.

Of the travellers lately returned from the Continent,

<sup>1</sup> Henry Warburton (1784?-1858), friend of Dr. Wollaston and Ricardo, supported Brougham in founding the London University, was member of its first council in 1827. In 1826 was returned for Bridport, and made his first speech on November 30th, on foreign goods. Was re-elected in every election till 1841, when he resigned his seat on the ground that a petition would have proved gross bribery against his colleague, in which his own agent would have been implicated. He was reckoned one of Lord Althorp's most confidential friends. His collection of minerals, including those belonging to Wollaston, was presented in 1858 to the Mineralogical Museum at Cambridge. ("Dic. Nat. Biography.")

## The Romillys in Paris

the account given by the Romillys is the most interesting and the strongest against the Allies. His tour, considering that he was absent for little more than two months, was very extensive, but he saw most things extremely well. They were highly delighted with Italy, but especially with Genoa, its grand marble palaces, its fine mountain situation, and the tranquil magnificence of the Mediterranean, on which they sailed several times. Throughout Lombardy and the Sardinian territory they were much struck with the great works of Buonaparte and the benefits he had conferred on the Italian dominions; most of which will now be lost by the changes which have lately taken place in those unfortunate countries. At Geneva, Romilly became much acquainted with Sismondi, whom he found an agreeable and intelligent man, although he has been very injudicious in his conduct with respect to French politics. He understood him to be possessed of many curious notes of Buonaparte's conversations during last spring at Paris, which he will hereafter publish. At Paris, Romilly lived chiefly with Gallois,<sup>1</sup> Lafayette, and others of the Liberal and Constitutional party, and fully confirms the account which Abercromby had given of that virtuous but feeble body of men. The last account of the causes of Napoleon's return to Paris in March last, as it is understood by Romilly and believed by Lord Holland, appears to be the following: that intrigues and plots were forming for a change of Government, which was intended to take

<sup>1</sup> Jean Antoine Gallois, born 1755, died 1829. Author on jurisprudence and politics.

## Return of Napoleon

place in May following, but were very far from being matured. They seem to have determined on nothing positive and distinct beyond the deposition of Louis XVIII. His successor was somewhat uncertain, but probably would have been Napoleon II. with a Regency, as a measure likely to conciliate the Austrian Government. Buonaparte hearing of these movements, and having also good reason to believe that a proposition had been made by France at the Congress, and seconded by Spain, for removing him to St. Helena, determined on trying this, his only chance for recovering the Throne. His sudden appearance was quite unexpected by the Revolutionists, whose schemes it entirely deranged, but he was immediately espoused by the military, and in a great degree by the population at large. They found it necessary to acquiesce and do the best that they could ; that is, to put him under a strict constitutional discipline. The result was, that during his short reign he was never entirely the master, and after his failure at Waterloo they easily compelled him to abdicate ; weakly supposing that the Allies would be satisfied with this sacrifice and would interfere no further with the internal affairs of France. Romilly brings many striking instances of the insolence of the soldiery and the hardship suffered by the Parisians, but I have no time to enter into such details. He seems to apprehend some great explosion. No traveller of any party affects to deny that Louis "*l'inévitable*" (as he has been called) has any support in France except the arms of the Allies. On the other hand, the Royalists are quite as furious against these their friends and supporters as any other

## Dr. Holland

body of men in France. Count de Bournon, a great Bourbonist and friend of Blacas, who is lately arrived, says that the cruelties of the Prussians have effaced all recollections of Buonaparte's tyranny, and that the conduct of the Allies, and especially the Duke of Wellington, will infallibly produce a new and more widely extended war. He confidently expects that Russia will separate from the rest, on some point of internal interference and unite with France. You will probably have heard Tennant speak of Bournon, and know that his opinion is not worth much except in mineralogy ; but I quote him as speaking the language of the high party at the Court of the Tuileries.

Dr. Holland has declined the offer of going to China, as interfering with his prospects of medical practice. It seems, indeed, very doubtful whether the Embassy will after all be admitted, so great is the alarm and indignation in that empire on account of our war with the Nepaulese.

I must tell you that Dr. Holland, having entirely quitted the Princess of Wales (though quite amicably), means to settle in London this winter. He is now for a short time at Cheltenham, and will probably go to Bowood. I have told him that Easton Grey will be on his way, and that you will assuredly be glad to see him. If you talked of Dr. Holland at Easton Grey at the time of receiving my former letter he would probably be criticised with some severity by Abercromby and Warburton, nor was he much liked by Tennant. His manner is certainly too courtly and "*douceroux*" ; but he is very obliging and possesses



## Holland House

great funds of information—qualities which, with a view to the ordinary intercourse of life, sufficiently atone for these defects.

The treaties seem to be as bad as possible, but unfortunately they are very popular. I am apprehensive of great schisms among the Whigs. I send you these lines written with a diamond on one of the windows in Holland House by Mr. Frere. The last line seems to me particularly good :—

“ May neither fire destroy, nor waste impair,  
Nor time consume thee till the twentieth heir,  
May taste respect thee, and may fashion spare.”<sup>1</sup>

*Dec. 2, 1815.*

I send you an extract from a letter written by Sismondi to a friend of mine respecting the Emperor Napoleon, of whom he was formerly a great enemy, but to whom he became a sincere convert after his return in March last. His account in some respects is curious; and distinctly confirms what we have heard before of the change that has lately taken place in Buonaparte's constitution and physical powers—in fact, a sort of premature old age.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These lines were originally, it is believed, written on a pane of glass in the window of Roger's dressing-room. Princess Marie Lichtenstein gives them in 1874 as in “the southern window of the library passage.”

<sup>2</sup> The copy enclosed does not allude to this, perhaps some of the letter is missing.

## Sismondi on Napoleon

*Extract from a letter of Sismondi to a friend of Mr. Whishaw (probably translated by Mr. W.).*

“Buonaparte no longer threatens Europe with subjugations. Speculation on his military and political views have in a great measure ceased. But the general system and the peculiarities of his moral and intellectual character are the universal topics of conversation throughout Christendom. By a strange fatality, also, it has happened that as his possession of power kept the world in constant agitation, so his existence in retreat has produced a sort of torpor in all parties in France. The fear of his return checks the Royalists, in their ill-concealed designs of disturbing the property and restoring the old abuses of their country, and the possibility of paving the way for him prevents the republicans from exerting themselves, and deadens the activity even of those who, with more moderate views, are anxious to reduce the power of the Crown within some reasonable limits. It would be difficult to form a satisfactory judgment of a man who has been at all times the object either of the basest adulation or the grossest abuse, and whom it is now not only safe and fashionable, but even profitable, to calumniate. Those who have lived by his favour, and those who have employed every art of flattery and deception to palliate his crimes, and intoxicate him with praise, are as eager to obliterate their former servility by repeating and forging anecdotes to his dishonour as those who have suffered under his tyranny are to load his memory with every species of

## Sismondi on Napoleon

abuse without examining the foundations on which such an accusation may rest. But, though it is difficult to ascertain facts which depend on the veracity of the relater, and therefore impossible to draw his character with certainty, the results of his elevation are more obvious, and it is an easier task to infer from them how far his life has been beneficial and show how far it has been injurious to mankind in general and to the countries which he has governed for some years in particular.

“I will give you my opinion without disguise and without prejudice—that is, without reference to any opinions which I have formerly entertained or expressed.

“He was certainly no ‘monster’; that is, not a Caligula, a Nero, a Catherine de Medici, or a Marat. He was, however, in many senses a tyrant, and in all a subverter of that power to which he owed everything; a prince who combined great military talents with as great military means, indulged without scruple or moderation that odious and childish passion of conquest which has misled many absolute, and nearly all French, kings, has at all times created so much calamity in the world, and often, as in the present instance, conducted those who gave way to it through much false glory, to defeat and degradation. He had the same propensity to disturb mankind as Louis XIV., Charles XII., and other princes who have been called ‘Great’; but he had greater means than many, and more virtues than most of those princes. He was, therefore, more formidable, but not more guilty or odious. His worst qualities, viz., his hatred of

## Sismondi on Napoleon

Liberty and love of conquest, he had in common with most kings ; his means of gratifying them, especially his capacity, he had in common with but few. But as he exerted them for such detestable ends he deserved his fall ; and inasmuch as his designs were hostile to the independence of many nations, and his capacity nearly equal to his undertakings, his fall must be considered as a fortunate event for the great Powers of Europe and for England in particular.

“ But is it so for France, or for those countries which under him were annexed to, or dependent on, France ?

“ This question can only be solved by examining the good and evil of his Government, by comparing his system with that which preceded it, and, above all, by comparing the evils of his Government with those of such as have succeeded, or are likely to succeed, to him. These questions, as they effect France, would require very laborious inquiries and very long discussions. I shall only make some cursory remarks upon them.

“ The evils of his system in France may be classed under three heads : the want of liberty, the waste of life, and the waste of money.

“ Liberty of discussion, at least on political topics, there was none in France under him ; and even of security for personal liberty there was very little. There must have existed more freedom of speech than we supposed, or than some of his predecessors would easily have endured, because there are many instances not only of *bon-mots* but of injurious expressions being uttered by him, and even to him by persons

## Sismondi on Napoleon

whom he, in his turn, outrageously and scurrilously abused, but whom he left, not only at liberty, but in authority and office. It is, indeed, a remarkable circumstance, and one very discreditable to his understanding, if not to his heart, that he was at all times more disposed to insult than to injure those who had offended him. He was, however, an enemy to freedom; and, to use an affected word, must be considered as a 'Liberticide.' In this part of his character two things are, nevertheless, to be observed: first, that he left many forms and institutions which, though he himself dispensed with or broke through them, might have survived him; secondly, that notwithstanding his disputed title and irritable temper, fewer persons were found, at the time of his disposal, in prison for State crimes than under Louis XVI., the hereditary monarch of France and, if we can believe his panegyrists, the mildest and meekest of all royal personages.

"Was the old system, then, such as required, even in its mildest form, a larger number of unfortunate wretches to be immured in dungeons than the new one admitted of, even under a fierce and unrelenting military usurper?

"The advantages enjoyed under Buonaparte's government are not to be exclusively ascribed to him. Many of them were due to the Revolution and Republic.

"They were:—

"1st. The complete freedom of worship and conscience.

"2nd. Speedy and impartial justice administered in

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all civil concerns and in all criminal matters, also where political questions were not involved.

“3rd. A strict appropriation of public money to public purposes. (N.B. Napoleon, after paying his household from a civil list of half the amount granted to Louis XVIII., with a regularity unequalled in the frugal management of a private person, saved more than a third, which he distributed to individuals of merit in the army.)

“4th. The gratification of national glory.

“5th. The magnificence of all public works, useful or ornamental.

“6th. The excellence and cheapness of the police.

“7th. The easy access to office and distinction for all persons whose talents fitted them for the discharge of public duties.

“Such were the evils and such the advantages of his government. Which of the first has the late Revolution corrected? How many of the last has it destroyed? and what new benefit has it conferred? also what fresh evils has it occasioned?

“The first of these questions must be answered in the singular number. One enormous evil is for the present removed, viz., the *conscription*. The relief will be complete if a long peace can be preserved, and if a war can be maintained without some mode of levying troops as oppressive and perhaps less impartial. The taxes which ‘Monsieur’ promised to repeal have been continued, and even increased. In the meantime the salaries of efficient offices, military and civil, are less punctually paid, while the number of sinecures and court attendants is increased; works of great

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magnificence are in a great measure, and works of utility still more, neglected and abandoned.

“The price of land is falling, the security of property is very sensibly diminished, prompt obedience no longer follows the laws; much discontent prevails, and many persons have been already executed for their resistance to the newly restored authorities.

“National glory is gone. Buonaparte, perhaps, destroyed as he had created it. But no one expects the old race to revive it.

“The only new institution the king has introduced—viz., the *Maison du Roi*—it is said, will be confined only to such as can prove their nobility. Processions, reliques, and suppression of business on feast days have been enjoined. Whether these are benefits I do not know; but they certainly are not so considered by the public.

“So much for France. Italy and Belgium remain to be considered. For, as to Holland and Switzerland, if the first can maintain anything like independence, she must be the gainer by the late events. It is as absurd to deny that her subjugation was subversive to her happiness as to maintain that Buonaparte's late settlement of the cantons was not beneficial to Switzerland. Napoleon not only corrected the evils of which he had been the immediate cause, under the Republic, in Switzerland, but he actually improved the condition of that country with reference to the state in which it stood previously to the Revolution war. Except in Geneva, which he annexed to France, he has no enemies in Switzerland, and he has many adherents and more admirers in the cantons.

## Sismondi on Napoleon

“In Belgium the public opinion is decidedly hostile to him and his Government, and the people are as much delighted at his downfall as they had been lately at the expulsion of the Austrians, and formerly at the evacuation of the Spaniards. A calm calculation of their interests might lead them to another conclusion. France afforded them a permanent market for their manufactories and productions, and was powerful enough to protect them from incursions and conquests. Surrounded by independent states, they will in peace be harassed with the custom-house regulations of their neighbours, and in war are destined to become again, as they have so frequently been before, the theatre of war—the arena on which the great military powers carry on contests for glory—contests which it is the fate of Flanders to witness and to feed, but the glory of which she is no longer allowed to partake. If they belong to Austria or to Prussia they will hardly be relieved from the evils of a levy as severe as the conscription. If to the Protestant provinces of the Netherlands, they will be subjected to those to whom they feel the strongest repugnance, and in all cases they will be more exposed to the evils of war and less gratified by admission to high offices of a great empire, which, from policy or from accident, Napoleon rendered very accessible to the natives of the annexed provinces.

“Italy, in political liberty, can have lost nothing under Napoleon, for she had nothing to lose. In all that a Government not founded on liberty could bestow, she had gained prodigiously under the French domination. The conscription and the taxes were,



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indeed, grievances, and grievances of a nature to which Italians had never been subject, and which they were therefore less prepared to endure.

“ But, on the other hand, the general improvement of their agriculture, their means of communication, and their police, were benefits hitherto unknown in that country ; and the security of persons and property, together with full admission of all the natives to the highest posts, both in their own country and in the empire, were advantages which they had never enjoyed, and which might be thought to compensate even for the taxes and military service required of them. Assassinations were hardly known in the kingdom of Italy and the provinces annexed to France. The administration of justice was public and impartial and in the hands of the Italians : there was a full toleration of religious opinions ; the arts most congenial to the country were encouraged, not only by the rewards, but by the consideration conferred on their professors ; and other arts of life were gradually introduced into the country. If the balance between good and evil had been struck under the Viceroy Beauharnais’ government, the conscription and national degradation must have been placed in one scale, security of person and property and an excellent administration of justice in the other. By the recent change they may possibly get rid of the conscription ; but the degradation of their national character will not only remain, but be aggravated by those of superstition, persecution, and depression of talents. In Piedmont every man who has served the country which his sovereign lost and abandoned, for these last

## Sismondi on Napoleon

ten years, is either banished or dismissed. The magnificent roads by which the intercourse with foreign nations was facilitated, are to be destroyed. The academies and schools are to be shut up; the improvements, even in medicine, are prohibited, and the Inquisition, which did not exist there, is to be introduced.<sup>1</sup>

“At Rome the Pope has denounced those authors of all mischiefs, the Freemasons, though I believe all the allied Sovereigns who restored him are of that foolish but innocent fraternity, and the mode by which his Holiness proposes to bring them to justice is by assigning one-half of their property to their accusers and the other to the judges who shall condemn them!

“The very lamps and pavements of Rome are denounced as impious innovations, and the old darkness and dirt are to be immediately re-established. The ancient modes of law proceedings are to be carefully restored, and all the benefits of sanctuaries and other kinds of impunity to be scrupulously extended to those worthy objects of compassion who live by depredation, and have been betrayed into the venial offences of stabbing their fellow-creatures. The roads are infested with robbers; the towns and villages abound with assassins. The taxes remain, or are increased, though not one of them is applied to objects beneficial to Italy. Sugar, coffee, and relief from conscription they have gained; justice, enterprise, security, and magnificence in public works they have lost by the change. They have still foreigners for

<sup>1</sup> Note by Mr. Whishaw, “This is denied.”

## Sismondi on Napoleon

their taskmasters; but the French opened to the natives a career of fortune and glory; and, though they pillaged them for purposes of war, they encouraged old and brought new arts into the country. The Austrians take their money and give them nothing in return but insolence and contempt.

"It is not wonderful that Napoleon should have many partisans among the Italians, for who can deny [that his fall] has restored with much aggravation all the evils which retarded the progress and debased the character of that highly ingenious people for two or three centuries.

"Great, however, as the calamity of his downfall will be to that country, that of his restoration would be still greater. Endless civil wars would ensue. The fears of one party and the vengeance of the other would desolate the country with persecution; but though the condition of Italy would not be bettered by an effort to recall him, it is unquestionably worse than when it had quietly submitted to his authority. The appearance of the peasantry, and of the country, has improved as much under Buonaparte in Italy as it has in France since the Revolution; and though newspapers and the Public may rail at that event, the traveller must be blind who, in passing through France, does not perceive that the division of property, the suppression of odious privileges, and the real equality of condition have improved the face of the country and the state of its inhabitants, and must ultimately have some effect in ennobling the rural intellects and the political character of the nation.

## Dr. Holland

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*Dec. 22, 1815.*

It is some time since I last wrote, but I have had very little to communicate. London has been very empty and society very stagnant. Lord and Lady Holland were absent for a long time at Woburn. Since their return I have been at Holland House once, and am going there again for a few days at Christmas, and afterwards to Lord King's. No particular intelligence has been received from France by Lord Holland, except a distinct confirmation of the hardships inflicted on the Protestants in the South. It is very true, as the *Courier* states, that this rancour is connected with *political* opinions; but it is no sort of excuse for the charge of disaffection being always brought in such cases by the ruling ecclesiastical faction, and often with good reason, as they take care by their mode of treating them that the charge shall at length be true. Witness the primitive Christians and the heretics of early ages, the French Protestants during the League, and the Irish Catholics of our own times.

I am glad you were pleased with Dr. Holland, who seems also to have been successful at Bowood and with the Carnegies. The defects of his manner are very apparent, and extend in some degree to his character. They have excited a strong prejudice against him in the minds of some of our friends. I allude particularly to Abercromby and Warburton. But I can pardon these defects on the ground of his great information, and general good temper and agreeableness. I might have been more vigorous

## Lord Holland and Duke of Wellington

some years since ; but it is time for me to ask myself the question of Horace :

“ *Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?* ”<sup>1</sup>

Somewhat of this temper is necessary in advanced life, to counterbalance its other unavoidable defects.

The Duke of Norfolk's death has made our friend's brother<sup>2</sup> the premier peer of England, and, in consequence of a settlement made some time since, gives an annuity of £1,500 to our friend for his life, and a handsome provision for his children. But the Duke left him nothing by his will, having for a considerable time past been on bad terms with him. The Duke saw Dr. Milner, the Catholic, frequently during his illness, and appeared to show some partiality for the faith of the family ; but he was not reconciled to the Church by any overt act.

*Dec. 29, 1815.*

I wish I was at liberty to send you a copy of an admirable letter written by Lord Holland to Lord Kinnaird, at Paris, relative to Ney's case, and the Duke of Wellington's construction of the 12th Article of the capitulation of Paris. It is excellent both in argument and style, and very strong against Wellington, to whom it was shown, and who returned it without any observation. Though too late to save Ney, the letter, I trust, was not without its use, for Wellington is said to be again fluctuating towards the milder system, and the escape of Lavalette, which

<sup>1</sup> Horace ii., Epistle 2, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Charles Howard, brother of the twelfth Duke.

## Lord Castlereagh

seems clearly to have been permitted, may be considered as a proof that the ruling party in the *present Government* are apprehensive of pushing matters to extremes. Lord King, whom I am just going to visit, writes to give me notice "that he almost regrets Napoleon, for that, with all his bad qualities and rage for conquest (which includes almost every other fault), he was an *Usurper*, and as such obliged to be tolerant, and the natural enemy of many abuses much cherished by the Kings of the Earth, upon whom he was, in many respects, a powerful and effectual check."

These opinions, however, are confined within a narrow circle. They are entirely unknown to the world at large.

You will be surprised to hear that Lord Castlereagh has a plan for doing something for the Catholics, and is in actual communication with the Pope relative to that subject. I believe this to be true, and shall rejoice in anything that is done, regretting only that it was not done long since, and by those who would have carried it with full effect.

Among the authors of the articles in the *Edinburgh Review* I may mention that of Lingard's Anglo-Saxon History is written by Allen of Holland House, and Dr. Holland's travels by Playfair.

## CHAPTER IV

1816

Ney and the Duke of Wellington—Lord Lansdowne—"Paul's letters"—Lines on Scott's "Waterloo," by Lord Erskine—Debate on the Treaties—Lord and Lady Byron—Ricardo—Politics and the income tax—Benjamin Constant—Brougham and the Regent—Princess Charlotte's household—Lord Byron—Lady Caroline Lamb—Glenarvon—Binda—Constant—The Hope pictures—"Childe Harold"—Ricardo—A Whig marriage—Southey's poem on Waterloo—Lord Byron—Pozzo di Borgo—"Tales of my Landlord"—Spa Fields riot—Theatricals at Holland House.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*Tuesday, Jan. 16, 1816.*

VERY shortly I expect to send a copy of Lord Holland's letter on Marshal Ney's case, which I have obtained his permission to transcribe.

The political aspect of affairs, on the part of the Opposition, for the approaching meeting of Parliament is sad and gloomy, I fear, in the extreme.

The question concerning the proper treatment of Labédoyère and Ney,<sup>1</sup> by the Duke of Wellington has

<sup>1</sup> Lord Holland's letter to Lord Kinnaid written December 5, 1815, contains the following passage :—

"Technical arguments may possibly be urged on both sides ;

## Duke of Wellington and Ney

excited all sorts of differences among the party, and the number of those who espouse what we consider as the true principles on this subject, and who have the courage to avow them, are likely to be very inconsiderable. Unfortunately, too, Lord Grey has lately had one of those severe attacks to which he is so subject, and will probably be prevented from coming to town for some time. Lord Holland, it is true, is here, but he is considered as too violent, and an outcry has been attempted against him, with some success, as a friend of Buonaparte and France. Lord Lansdowne's opinions are very right, but his feelings, I am afraid, will not be sufficiently strong, and he may probably be deterred from declaring the *whole truth* by the apprehension of doing mischief in France. In the Commons, Ponsonby, who, by the way, is not yet arrived, is inefficient, and Tierney, though admirable in finance and practical details, is unequal to great subjects ; nor is he of sufficient weight to attract many followers. Horner and Brougham do not agree well together, the latter verging towards the democratic side, the former to the regular Whigs. Lord Milton

and though they appear to me all in favour of Ney's claim, it is not on them I lay the stress, but on the obvious and practical aspect of the transaction, as it must strike impartial men and posterity. The plain relation of the events in history will be this—A promise of security was held out to the inhabitants of Paris ; they surrendered their town ; and while Wellington and the Allies were still really in possession of it, Labédoyère was executed, and Ney was tried for political opinions and conduct. Even of subsequent executions (and I fear there will be many), it will be said the Allies delivered over their authority in Paris to a French government, without exacting an observance of the stipulations on which they originally acquired it."



## Brougham

approves entirely of what has been done, and thinks it all too little. Lord Althorp, disapproving of many of our proceedings, yet thinks that no attack must be made on the Duke of Wellington.

EAST INDIA COLLEGE,

*Feb.* 18, 1816.

You will be glad to hear that the divisions among the Opposition are likely to be less serious than was at one time to be expected. Lord Grenville is decidedly favourable to economy and low establishments, and however incompatible these opinions may appear with his attachment to the Bourbons, we must regard his inconsistency in this respect as a very fortunate circumstance. He has lately shown a great indisposition to separate from his present friends, and has sent the draft of an amendment to Lord Lansdowne and Lord Holland for the motion which is to take place to-morrow upon the Treaties. This step was wholly unexpected, for it was thought a short time since that Lord Grenville would support the Address and range himself on this question, as on the question of the War, with the Administration. His amendment will in substance be adopted.

Brougham has distinguished himself very much, and has shown many of the talents of a leader; but he has not yet made himself acceptable to the older and regular part of the Whigs. He is somewhat rash and imprudent, as, for instance, in the Motion against Ferdinand of Spain; but with all his faults, which experience will gradually correct, he is an invaluable acquisition to the country.



HENRY, 3RD MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.  
*From an engraving by Bromley, after Sir Thomas Lawrence.*



*To face p. 142.*

0700

## Paul's Letters

Lord Lansdowne has distinguished himself very greatly by his speeches, and still more by his conduct respecting the representation of Calne. In consequence of a vacancy for that borough made by Jekyll, he has determined to bring in Macdonald, a most excellent member of the Opposition, who has lately been turned out of Parliament by his uncle, Lord Stafford, for refusing to go over to Ministers. This conduct of Lord Lansdowne has been highly and justly applauded, in proportion as that of Lord Stafford has been universally and loudly reprobated.

"Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk," by Walter Scott, appears to be a trifling commonplace work, written, like the poem of Waterloo, for the sake of reimbursing to the author, with some profit, the expenses of his continental journey. Lord Byron has just published two poems hastily and somewhat carelessly written, but marked with his characteristic merits and defects. You will lament to hear that a separation is likely to take place between him and Lady Byron, an amiable and excellent person, whom I am afraid he has treated with great neglect and unkindness.

On Scott's poem of Waterloo, by Lord Erskine—

"How vast the heaps of prostrate slain  
On Waterloo's immortal plain ;  
Yet none by sabre or by shot  
Fell half so flat as Walter Scott."

*Feb. 28, 1816.*

The debate on the Treaties went off rather better than was expected ; the two parties made an awkward

## Horner

sort of junction, and Lord Grenville, notwithstanding the apparent inconsistency of economy and the Bourbons, made a very good speech. The minorities of 40 in the Lords and 77 in the Commons were on the whole very respectable, and much greater than for a long time there was any reason to hope.

But the circumstance most fortunate in these debates, and which has contributed more than anything else to keep up the spirits of the Opposition, was the admirable speech of Horner, which both in style, manner, and above all in the excellent principles with which it abounded, was universally acknowledged to be one of the completest performances that has been witnessed by Parliament for a great number of years. It derived great weight from the opinion universally and justly entertained of the sincerity and high honour of the speaker, and produced so considerable an impression as to mark him out for the future leader of the Whigs, if that station had been consistent with his professional pursuits.

Probably the speech did not influence a single vote, but it lowered the tone of the Treasury bench and took away all the triumph of the reply. It was the universal topic of conversation for two or three days.

I have just had Benjamin Constant with me. He seems to be settled in England for some time, with the intention of publishing memoirs of the last reign of Buonaparte, for which he has ample materials, having seen him continually and having had many long conversations with him during his three months' reign in 1815. His account of the great man seems in

## Lord and Lady Byron

many respects to be candid and rational, agreeing in most of the essential points with the representations of Sismondi.

The separation of Lord and Lady Byron is going on; but as the former will not consent to any reasonable terms, it is probable there must be a suit of divorce in the Ecclesiastical Court on the ground of ill-treatment. The legal proof of this may perhaps be somewhat difficult; but of the fact there is no doubt, and it commenced, I fear, and has continued with little intermission from the first days of the marriage.

Ricardo's pamphlet<sup>1</sup> is sensible and ingenious; but I am still favourable to a metallic currency, and I find that Malthus agrees with me in this opinion. A seignorage on our coins and a repeal of the laws prohibiting their exportation would be probably all the case would require to ensure a constant supply of guineas on any great emergency.

*March 18, 1816.*

It will give you great pleasure to hear that Lord Lansdowne's speech on Friday last on military expenditure was universally admired as a most finished performance, and has placed him very high in the first class of public speakers. It was distinguished not only by great clearness of statement and perfect knowledge of a very extensive and intricate subject, but by powers of pleasantry which he had not displayed on any former occasion. It is

<sup>1</sup> Proposing a scheme for maintaining the value of bank notes by making them exchangeable, not for gold coin, but for standard bars of gold bullion.

## The Income Tax

quite an era in his parliamentary life; and I cannot but be very highly gratified that he and Horner, with whom I am so particularly connected, should be precisely the persons who have made the most marked and decided progress in public opinion during the present session.

The Ministers are determined to persist in their income tax, which they expect to carry by a majority of about 30. Many think it will not be quite so great, but that there will be a majority there seems to be no reasonable doubt. It is the strongest act of ministerial power, and the most striking proof of the inadequate state of parliamentary representation that has ever taken place in our time.

March 23, 1816.

Since I last wrote we have been most agreeably surprised by the signal and unexpected triumph over the income tax, which none even of the best informed had thought could possibly happen *in the first instance*.<sup>1</sup> Several persons thought that the Bill might be thrown out in some one or other of its numerous stages, but no one expected that the original resolution would be

<sup>1</sup> "At last I rose, and merely read distinctly the words of the Act imposing the income tax 'for and during the continuance of the war, and no longer.' The shout which these three words raised I shall never forget. We divided immediately (March 18, 1816), and threw out the Bill by a majority of 37, which, in reference to the snuff known as 'Hardham's 37,' was called 'Brougham's 37,' and I remember being represented in a caricature as offering a pinch of my '37' to the Regent. The division was "for the continuance of the tax." In favour, 201; against, 238."—"Memoirs of Lord Brougham," vol. ii. p. 312.

## The Income Tax

rejected at once by a powerful and decided majority. The greatest possible efforts had been made, and the strong and confident language of the ministerialists had convinced even their opponents that their exertions had been perfectly successful. I am afraid, indeed, that this must have been the case upon any question not so immediately and vitally connected with the pecuniary interests of the nation. This reflection may a little diminish our feelings of triumph; especially when we consider how slight an impression had been made on the people by the great military establishments, and how totally insensible they were to the injustice and impolicy of Lord Castlereagh's treaties and profligate system of the Allied Powers. Still it must be remembered that resistance to arbitrary taxation is one of the most natural and *useful* results of a spirit of freedom. Witness the case of ship money and the Stamp Act, the latter of which led to the American Revolution. The victory of the popular party in the present instance, considering the principle of the tax and the avowed determination of Government to force it against the avowed opinion and feelings of the people, is, perhaps, the greatest public event that has happened in our time; the most important, undoubtedly, that has taken place since the acquittal of Tooke and Hardy.<sup>1</sup>

A Ministry, thus defeated and disgraced, ought, according to the good rules of former times, to have been immediately dismissed, but they still retain their places, and the only effect will be that Mr. Canning,

<sup>1</sup> In 1794, Horne Tooke, Stone, and others were tried for conspiracy.



## Benjamin Constant

on his return to England, will stand somewhat higher, from his friends being lowered, and will obtain better terms in his political negotiation.

We have several rather interesting foreigners now in London, particularly Benjamin Constant, who was formerly the friend of Madame de Staël and the great opponent of Buonaparte in the Tribune, who, after an exile of some years, returned to France on the restoration of Louis XVIII., and upon the return of Napoleon became a convert to his constitutional system, and one of his counsellors of state.

He is a distinguished literary man, a writer of political treatises and constitutions, a considerable German scholar, with somewhat of the sentimental and metaphysical cast of the Staël school, and has lately written a novel which he is about to publish. He is an agreeable man, but not particularly striking in conversation. However, he has a great deal to say, especially respecting Napoleon, whom he saw continually, and with whom he conversed on all sorts of subjects, political, literary, &c. I cannot now enter upon this wide field ; but have strongly advised M. de Constant to write memoirs of Napoleon's last reign instead of an apology for his own conduct as he had intended. Notwithstanding his political changes, or perhaps because of them, I believe him to be an honest man, and to have been fully convinced of the sincerity and constitutional intentions of Napoleon in 1815, founded upon his conviction of the *necessity* of such measures.

## Lord and Lady Byron

*March 27, 1816.*

Your conjecture as to the impropriety and impolicy of Brougham's personal attack on the Regent was perfectly correct. It alienated a great number of the new adherents of the Opposition, disgusted several of the old ones, and is considered as having lost them the question on Wednesday night. This is extremely doubtful, because weak and timid people are glad to avail themselves of *any* pretexts in such cases; but certainly Brougham's imprudence afforded them very plausible reasons for declining to act with a party avowing personal hostility to the Sovereign. This unfortunate mistake has been the general subject of conversation ever since. It has revived the drooping spirits of the *Courier*, has operated as a most important diversion in favour of the Ministers, and has perhaps laid the seeds of a new schism in the party of the Opposition.

You will be glad to hear that Lady Lansdowne is quite recovered, and talks with great animation of their journey to Italy. I was at a very splendid assembly at Lansdowne House last night—the first that has been given there this winter.

It is quite determined that Lord and Lady Byron are to separate, though it is very much against the inclination of the former. His conduct, according to every account, has been very culpable. What is to be said, for instance, of his never sitting down to table with his wife, alleging that he disliked seeing a woman *eat*, of his taking no notice of her friends, and not even asking her father and mother to his house when they were living at the Hotel a few doors off

## Princess Charlotte

for some time last spring? I am afraid there never was any real affection between them. On her part it was a match of vanity ; on his, a determination to obtain a prize which so many competitors were in pursuit of. You know that he was once refused, and this, it is said, he never forgave. After he had once obtained her consent, his ardour visibly abated ; and his coolness is said to have been visible in his delays previous to his setting out to the North for the celebration of his marriage and in his slow and long-protracted journey.

*April 6, 1816.*

The Princess Charlotte's household is said to be arranged. The appointments have all been made at Carlton House. The Duchess Dowager of Leeds is supposed to be at the head, Lady Jane Thynne and Lady Emily Murray, Ladies of the Bedchamber, Colonel Addenbrooke and Mr. Percy (son of Lord Lovaine), the male attendants. I do not suppose that this will interest you ; but perhaps some of your neighbours may be pleased with this Court gossip. The country residence is a great house of Sir Joseph Mawbey's in Surrey,<sup>1</sup> unpleasantly situated, not far from St. Anne's Hill and Lord King's, but there is to be a strict charge against receiving Opposition visitors. How long this injunction will be observed must be considered very doubtful. Already some marks of ill-temper have appeared. They are not to have the Royal liveries, but those of Saxe-Coburg. The title of Duke of Kendal has been declined by the young prince, on the ground that he

<sup>1</sup> The proposed purchase of this house was dropped.

## “ Glenarvon ”

does not wish to interfere or commit himself in politics, which an English peerage would make it necessary for him to do. This is very sensible, and seems to show that the Princess has some good secret adviser.

*April 10, 1816.*

I hope shortly to send you Lord Byron's farewell verses to his lady. He has also written a satyr (*sic*) against Lady Byron's governess, whom he considers as the cause of their separation. The attack is quite outrageous and is extremely resented by Lady Byron.

*April 27, 1816.*

Lord Byron is at last gone off to the Continent, having executed the deed of separation with great reluctance, and not till after he had been threatened with a Bill in Chancery. When he had signed the instrument, he threw it away from him, and being told that he must deliver it as his act and deed, “No,” said he, “I deliver it as the act and deed of Mrs. Clermont” (the governess), and it was not without difficulty that he was persuaded to deliver it in the regular manner.

*May 16, 1816.*

I am afraid Lady Caroline and her novel will experience less public indignation than they deserve. I had some conversation on the subject yesterday with Rogers, who talked very properly and rationally.

[*Amongst Mr. Whishaw's papers is the following “Key to Glenarvon,” by Lady Caroline Lamb.*

Lady Calantha ... ..	Lady C. Lamb.
Duke of Altamonti ... ..	Duke of Devonshire.
Lady Margaret ... ..	Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Bessborough.

## Benjamin Constant

Mr. Buchanan ... ..	Sir G. Webster.
Glenarvon ... ..	Lord Byron.
Princess of Madagascar ...	Lady Holland.
Hoiaonskim ... ..	Mr. Allen.
"Dead Poet" ... ..	Mr. Rogers.
Lady Mandeville ... ..	Lady Oxford.
Mrs. Seymour ... ..	Mrs. Kinnaird, or Lady Bessborough.
Lord Avondale ... ..	W. Lamb (Lord Melbourne).
Lord Dallas ... ..	Mr. Ward (afterwards Lord Dudley).
Sophia Seymour ... ..	Lady Grenville.
Frances Seymour ... ..	Lady Morpeth.
Lady Augusta Selwyn ...	Lady Jersey.
Castle Delaval ... ..	Devonshire House.
Menteith House ... ..	Melbourne House.]

*June 24, 1816.*

Binda was fortunate enough to see Mrs. Siddons on Saturday in *Lady Macbeth*, and was much surprised and delighted. He went with the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, who continue to be very kind to him, having invited him for the summer to Woburn and Devonshire.

*June 29, 1816.*

I am much obliged to M. de Constant for the civil things he said of me, which are in a great degree unmerited. But I am provoked that he will write nothing about Napoleon, or at least nothing worth reading. He always appeared to me timid and indecisive, and I never expected much, but after having informed me that his work was in the press, and desired me to provide him immediately with a translator, it is really inconceivable that the publication should be entirely withheld. His novel, "*Adolphe*,"

## Lord Liverpool

which is just published, has its admirers, but for a man of great literary reputation, appears to me to be an absolute failure.

On Thursday Warburton and I went to Mr. Hope's, where we were gratified by some of the pictures and vases, and particularly by the fine room called the library. But the furniture, notwithstanding all the care bestowed on it, is, with some few exceptions, in a bad, massive, and ponderous taste, and entirely opposed to the true principles of Grecian elegance. We were much better pleased yesterday with the collection of pictures at Grosvenor House, and regretted that you and Mrs. Smith were not with us. It is inferior only (if-at all) to Lord Stafford's gallery, and in some respects is more pleasing. There are beautiful works of Claude, Caspar Poussin, Guido, Titian, Cuyp, and especially of Rembrandt, besides two landscapes of Titian and Domenichino of considerable merit and still greater rarity.

*July 2, 1816.*

There are great reports afloat of ministerial changes and of Lord Liverpool quitting office, ostensibly on account of his health. If he retires, it will be difficult for Lord Eldon to remain. But I do not think there is, at present, any sufficient ground for believing in such changes, and I should be sorry to see Lord Liverpool quit the Government, since he would undoubtedly be succeeded by Lord Castlereagh, and the former is certainly much superior to the other in prudence, moderation, and deference for public opinion.

The Duke of Wellington's sudden and unexpected arrival is very extraordinary; and I have heard no

## Duke of Wellington

sufficient reason for it. It seems to be something political, *possibly* to represent to the Ministers the present state of France and to concert new measures.

You have perhaps heard that Lord Byron has taken a house near Geneva for two or three months; but is very little noticed or visited by the English or the natives. He was very nearly drowned by the upsetting of a boat on the lake.

We have a most beautiful day, and the weather is very inviting for the country.

“Jam mens prætrepidans avet vagari,  
Jam læti studio pedes vigescunt.”

Catullus, xlv. 7.

*July 13, 1816.*

I cannot forbear writing a few lines which will find you on your return from the Wiltshire tour, to thank you and Mrs. Smith for all your kindness, and to acquaint you that I had a most agreeable and prosperous journey home. The country was delightful, the weather and the roads pleasant, and my companions in the coach more amusing and agreeable than usual. They consisted of a lively Frenchman, who had lived several years with Mr. Weld, of Lulworth Castle, as the tutor to the young ladies; a seafaring person retired to South Wales; and an intelligent female Quaker, who had paid great attention to the Bell and Lancaster systems of education. The day passed very agreeably, and I arrived in the evening at Lincoln's Inn a few minutes after ten.

No one seems to know the real cause of the Duke of Wellington's return. But it is generally supposed

## “Childe Harold”

that some new arrangements are in contemplation. The Duke has been sent for back from Cheltenham, and the Chancellor put off his business this morning at Lincoln's Inn in order to attend the Regent. The late entertainments at Carlton House have exceeded all former extravagance in splendour and expense.

July 22, 1816.

Murray has received a letter from Lord Byron, who has just finished the third canto of “Childe Harold,” consisting of 117 stanzas, which he thinks equal to the other two. It is to be sent home for immediate publication. He had traversed the whole lake in his barge, and had visited Gibbon's house and garden at Lausanne and the scenery of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* at Vevay, with all of which he was much delighted. His vessel was near being overset by a sudden squall off the rocks of Meillerie.

Madame de Staël has completed her work, which is to be entitled “Les causes et les effets de la Revolution Française.” It consists of three volumes, one of which is to be devoted to this country, its constitution, commerce, state of society, &c.

M. de Constant is going for some time to Spa. I have spoken to him rather strongly on the subject of his historical work, which I trust he will not abandon. He talks of recasting it into the form of Historical Memoirs during the leisure of the summer. He has seen the Duke of Wellington several times in society, but though his Grace knew him at Paris in parties in the year 1814, he does not now notice him. Possibly he may have heard of Constant's sarcasms. The



## Ricardo

Duke holds strong language as to the stability of the Bourbons and the *mild tenour* of their Government. He has seen a good deal of Lady Caroline Lamb, with whom Constant also is intimate.

*July 29, 1816.*

Rundell and Bridge, finding no purchasers for the Pigot diamond in Christendom, have sent to offer it to the Pacha of Egypt, the conqueror of the Wahabees, who is making a great collection of jewels. If he declines the purchase it will be offered to Ali Pacha, Dr. Holland's friend, who is also a great collector and extremely rich.

*July 29, 1816.*

Abercromby and Macdonald returned from Calne extremely well pleased with all that passed; they were received not only with great kindness, but with the utmost cordiality. The reports of a dissolution have subsided, but I am afraid it is not entirely out of the question; the object would be to procure a Parliament less under the influence of popular feelings and, of course, more manageable, with a view to strong financial measures (such as a modified income tax) without diminishing the establishments.

I wish Ricardo could be induced to come into the next Parliament. He would be very useful, though I am afraid he is not sufficiently averse to the income tax.

*Oct. 19, 1816.*

You will be pleased to hear of a *Whig marriage*, which gives great pleasure to Lord Holland and all his friends—Mr. Lambton to Lady Louisa, eldest daughter of Lord Grey.

## Poem by Southey

Oct. 24, 1816.

We have very few political people in town, but from everything we hear the general state of public affairs is very gloomy, and there seems to be no prospect of any improvement, either commercial or agricultural. A general discontent prevails, and there is a great disposition towards some violent measure with respect to the Funds, which would be warmly supported by many country gentlemen, and, I am afraid, by the landed interest in general.

There seems, indeed, to be little doubt that a great blow will be levelled against the Sinking Fund in the course of the next Session.

In the general depreciation of property which has taken place no article appears to maintain its ground except poetry. Murray has given £2,000 for the third canto of "Childe Harold," which is now printing; and he has sold 7,000 copies of that very indifferent "Tragedy of Bertram" <sup>1</sup> at the extravagant price of four shillings and sixpence each. Before I conclude I will transcribe some stanzas from Southey's "Waterloo," which you perhaps have not seen :—

"Two nights have passed, the morning opens well,  
Fair are the aspects of the favouring sky,  
Soon yon sweet chimes the appointed hour will tell,  
For here to music time moves merrily.  
Aboard! aboard! no more must we delay;  
Farewell, good people of the *Fleur de Bled*.

Beside the busy wharf the *Trekschuit* rides,  
With painted plumes and tent-like awning gay;

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<sup>1</sup> By Maturin.

## Poem by Southey

Carts, barrows, coaches hurry from all sides,  
And passengers and porters throng the way,  
Contending all at once in clam'rous speech,  
French, Flemish, English, each confusing each.

All disregardant of the Babel sound,  
A swan kept oaring near with upraised eye,  
A beauteous pensioner, who daily found  
The bounty of such casual company;  
Nor did she leave us till the bell was rung  
And slowly we our watery way begun.

Europe can boast no richer, goodlier scene  
Than that through which our pleasant passage lay,  
By fertile fields and fruitful gardens green,  
The journey of a short autumnal day.  
Sleek, well-fed steeds our steady vessel drew,  
The heavens were fair and mirth was of our crew.

Along the smooth canal's unbending line,  
Beguiling time with light discourse, we went,  
Nor wanting savoury food nor generous wine,  
Ashore, too, there was feast and merriment.  
The jovial peasants at some village fair  
Were dancing, drinking, smoking, gambling there."

This is very strange poetry !

Nov. 6, 1816.

I have seen an interesting letter from Lord Byron, strongly marked with his peculiar tastes and feelings. He writes from Milan, and speaks with great rapture of the Simplon, where he says that God and man have done wonders, to say nothing of the Devil, who assuredly must have had a hand (or *hoof*) in some of the rocks and precipices. He talks with great respect of the *banditti*, whom, unfortunately, he did not see. They traverse the country in great bands, thirty at a

## Lord Byron

time, and remind him of "poor dear Turkey." Lately they attacked a caravan of five carriages with the intention of plundering Mr. Hope, who fortunately escaped; but they ransacked the two last carriages and lodged several slugs in the body of Mr. Hope's courier. Lord Byron seems much pleased with Italy and the Italians, and with the unfinished triumphal arch of Napoleon at Milan, which, he says, is worthy of other times. In the Ambrosian Library, a vast collection abounding with interesting things, he is struck with nothing so much as an amorous correspondence between Cardinal Bembo and the famous Lucretia Borgia, the daughter and mistress (as it was believed) of Pope Alexander VI. He is also much pleased with a lock of Lucretia's hair, a small portion of which he hopes, by favour of the librarian, to obtain, together with complete copies of the letters.

Mr. Waters, of the Opera, has engaged Crevelli, I believe, and Madame Bigottini, the handsome dancer.

I find that Rousseau was a great admirer of the "Orphée" of Gluck and never missed seeing it.

I go on Friday to Malthus's, and shall take with me, by great favour, the third canto of "Childe Harold." Friday I am going to the Abercrombys', and to-morrow to Holland House.

*Nov. 16, 1816.*

We are going to Holland House to spend to-day and to-morrow. The Abercrombys come from Paris. Abercromby dined with Pozzo di Borgo,<sup>1</sup> and also

<sup>1</sup> Ambassador of the Emperor Alexander to Louis XVIII. In 1797 he had taken refuge in London and had lived in great poverty.

## Pozzo di Bergo

with Gallatin, who retains all his Republican opinions and is not backward to avow them. His wife, a shrewd American, is a singular personage at Paris, and somewhat *quizzed* by the Court and *Corps diplomatique*; but she takes her revenge by her keen remarks, and congratulates herself on the freedom and public spirit of America.

These dinners gave Abercromby an opportunity of seeing most of the foreign ministers and some of the most distinguished of the French Cabinet, viz., the Duc de Richelieu, M. Laisné, and M. de Cazes, the Minister of Police, and originally a *protégé* of the Napoleon family. He is a young man, somewhat of a coxcomb, and by no means well bred, but of insinuating manners, and a great favourite of Louis XVIII. He is understood to exercise his powers very harshly; and in the case of Sir Robert Wilson and his friends certainly acted with great injustice and oppression.

Abercromby says that Pozzo di Borgo's dinner was without exception one of the most splendid things he ever saw. It was rather curious to contrast this magnificence with Pozzo's situation three years ago, when he lived in poor lodgings up two pair of stairs in Soho. *Now* he is at the head of affairs in Paris and was the adviser of the dissolution of the Administrative Body, to which the Ministers of England, Austria, and Prussia assented.

I was glad to read this morning of the proceedings of the Gloucester *Whig Club*; I hope things went on smoothly and look promising. I trust Ricardo will join you.

## Spa Field Riots

*Nov. 27, 1816.*

Lord Byron's third canto is considered as very inferior to the two former, so is the "Prisoner of Chillon" and the other poems published with it. There are occasional passages of merit and great *traits* of imagination and genius, but he is very obscure and writes too quick and very incorrectly. He is also become an imitator of the *Lake school*, and certainly will not find a place among our classic writers.

We are very angry here with Jeffrey for his proscription of Addison, Pope, and Swift in the article on the latter. It is written with great spirit and vigour and exhibits all Jeffrey's talents, but is wholly deficient in judgment.

Lord Byron's new poems (both the third canto of "Childe Harold" and the "Prisoner of Chillon") have sold prodigiously, but the best judges all agree that they are clearly inferior to his former productions.

*Dec. 5, 1816.*

A new novel is come out, "Tales of my Landlord," I believe by the author of "Waverley," *i.e.*, the indefatigable Walter Scott.

*Dec. 6, 1816.*

The tone taken respecting the late riots<sup>1</sup> by the Government papers show that they mean to alarm the country thoroughly, with a view, probably, to some strong measures in Parliament in order to withdraw the public attention from measures of reform and retrenchment.

<sup>1</sup> The Spa Fields riots.

## Holland House

Reports are revived of some change in Administration, which I do not at present believe. If any material change takes place it will be by the retirement of Lord Liverpool and the elevation of Lord Castlereagh, which certainly will not be an improvement. Lord Liverpool's health has become very indifferent for some time past, and he may, therefore, *perhaps* be inclined to resign.

Dec. 24, 1816.

The second novel of the "Tales of my Landlord" is extremely good, though the subject is in some respects unpleasing. The author writes with great powers, but with very little moral feeling, and delights too much in "battle, murder, and sudden death."

Dec. 25, 1816.

I had a pleasant day at Holland House. In the evening there were *theatricals*, in which Henry Fox,<sup>1</sup> the two Smiths (sons of Bobus), young Tierney, and George Howard, a son of Lord Morpeth, acted the principal parts. They all did extremely well, especially Henry Fox. The performances consisted of scenes from different plays, and Binda acted the part of Canton, the Swiss valet, in "The Clandestine Marriage" with great success.

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards fourth Lord Holland.

## CHAPTER V

1817

Politics—The Congo—"Paul's Letters"—"Tales of my Landlord"—  
The Edgeworths—Politics—Lord Byron's journal—The "Lud-  
dites"—Death of Francis Horner—Suspension of Habeas Corpus  
—"Old Mortality"—*Edinburgh Review*—*Quarterly Review*—  
Autographs for Mrs. Smith—Brougham and Lord Jeffrey—  
And Lord Byron—French politics—Embassy to China—  
Ricardo—Leonard Horner—Letter of S. Smith—African  
discoveries—Mill on Ricardo—Lord Byron's "Witch's Tragedy"  
—Cobbett—Lord Amherst—Madame de Staël—Manchester  
riots—Miss O'Neil—Canning—Dr. Watson—Miss Mercer—  
Death of Mr. Edgeworth—Talma—Byron and Moore—  
Horner's letters—Chiswick—Death of Madame de Staël  
—J. L. Mallet—Paris society and fashions—Death of  
Princess Charlotte—"Childe Harold."

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*Jan. 4, 1817.*

I AM lately returned from Mackintosh, with whom  
I passed two very agreeable and instructive days.  
He seems to be in good health, and proceeds  
steadily, but as yet not very rapidly, in his great work.  
I have strongly advised him not to suffer parlia-  
mentary engagements to interfere too much with  
this more important undertaking.



## Politics

I hope you have seen Warden's account of Buonaparte. It places him in some respects in a new light,<sup>1</sup> and has made a favourable impression on most readers. It is considered as a dangerous and improper book by the Tories. Benjamin Constant seems to be making his peace with the French Government by a flimsy rhetorical pamphlet. I still think him an honest, but timid man, who has too great a desire to live in Paris.

Jan. 14, 1817.

Binda has truly represented to you the opinions of several of the politicians who frequent Holland House. But they are much too sanguine in looking forward to any great ministerial change at present. The present people will contrive to scramble through the Session discredibly enough, and as to minor points, with little difficulty, perhaps, but without any danger of a complete overthrow. For my own part I should almost as soon expect a reform in Parliament as the coming of the Opposition, in the present state of things.

Lord Lansdowne's absence on this occasion is much to be lamented. I hear that he has purchased a famous statue of Venus by Canova for £1,500 a prodigious sum for a modern work!

Horner writes that the Prussian Minister at Rome, Niebuhr, son of the traveller, has engaged in an examination of the Vatican manuscripts, and has

<sup>1</sup> "Letters written on board the *Northumberland*, and at St. Helena." Warden was the surgeon of the *Northumberland*.

## The Congo

discovered some new fragments of the Orations of Cicero.

The expedition to the Congo seems to have failed from the unfortunate ardour of the principal parties concerned in undertaking a great journey for which they were quite unfitted, and were without any proper provision.<sup>1</sup> Two journals are arrived which are said to be curious, and will in all probability be published. Their ascent of the river appears to have been stopped by great cataracts, which are said to be very curious and unexpected ; and the description of the river both above and below them is remarkable.

Feb. 4, 1817.

The parliamentary prospects of the Opposition are overclouded by the riotous proceedings of the mob on Tuesday last, and the powerful *diversion* made by Hunt, Cartwright, and Cobbett, in favour of Ministers. Many are seriously alarmed, others affect to be so ; and it is hardly possible that the Opposition should not be much divided upon these questions. I am afraid that the fate of the Session is decided, and that Parliament and the country will be occupied by treason and sedition bills, instead of economy and retrenchment. Brougham is in excellent health and spirits, and has hitherto spoken with great prudence and moderation, as well as with considerable ability. He has risen much in the opinion of the House.

<sup>1</sup> The expedition was sent under the command of Captain Tuckey, who was in bad health and died from the effects of the journey.

## Scott and Byron

Feb. 6, 1817.

I have sent in a parcel "Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk," by Walter Scott, which you told me you had not seen. It was considered here as a great failure: though it is evidently the work of a sensible man and a practised writer. The account of the battle of Waterloo is lively and spirited; in other respects it is rather flat and insipid, especially considering that it was the first time Scott had seen the Continent.

Unquestionably it forms a strong contrast to the vigour and spirit displayed in Scott's supposed novels and in the "Tales of my Landlord." I have just received a letter from the Edgeworths containing some observations on this last work, of which they are warm admirers.

Feb. 16, 1817.

I send you a curious *morceau*, viz., some extracts and recollection of a journal which I have been allowed to see of Lord Byron, during a short excursion which he has made into Switzerland, accompanied by J. Hobhouse. It is slight and *sketchy*, but strikes me as being very clever and very characteristic of the *man* and the *poet*. Pray show the paper only to particular friends, and take care to give no copy of it.

You say nothing of the "Tales of my Landlord." They are most extraordinary productions. The second tale ("The Covenanters,"<sup>1</sup>) is much the best. In nice delineations of character, and freedom and

<sup>1</sup> "Old Mortality."

## The Edgeworths

vigour of colouring, it excels any of the avowed works of Scott in prose and verse.

I have had an agreeable letter from Miss Edgeworth, and a characteristic one from her father, who writes apparently in great spirits, and seems determined to *die hard*. Miss E. says that she has two volumes to publish, one of a single tale, and another containing three comic dramas, one in genteel English life, and two in low Irish life. She is very doubtful as to the success of her comedies, which are not intended, she says, for the stage, but simply to try whether the public think she is possessed of dramatic talents. Two Journals of the unfortunate expedition to the Congo have been received at the Admiralty. They are said to be very curious and will shortly be published by Barrow. Notwithstanding the apparent failure, the master of Captain Tuckey's ship and the surviving officers have written that they are persuaded more discoveries may be made, and they express a strong desire to be allowed to prosecute them. Captain Tuckey made many inquiries concerning the Niger; and the result of the information was, that he believed it to be lost in lakes and swamps, according to the Ptolemaic system.

Brougham is just arrived, and there seems to be a great attendance of parliamentary people, but I do not expect a good division on Tuesday nor a very prosperous Session. Many rumours are spread abroad of differences between the followers of Mr. Fox and of Lord Grenville and Mr. Burke; and I *fear* they are not altogether unfounded. In this state of things the absence of Horner, who more than any other

## Lord Byron's Journal

individual served as the connecting-link between the two parties, is more particularly to be lamented. If the disunion now spoken of should unfortunately take place, it would end probably in a new Administration formed by the better sort of Tories, and the moderate Whigs; and the Opposition would be reduced nearly to its former contracted state.

Lord Byron went a second time to the château of Chillon, where he has before very minutely examined the dungeons, gallows, places, and instruments of torture.

"On our return," he says, "we met a party in an English carriage—a lady asleep, fast asleep, in the most *anti-narcotic* spot in Europe—excellent! I remember at Chamouni, in the very eyes of Mont Blanc, another woman, English also, exclaim to her party, 'Did you ever see anything more *rural*?' as if it were Highgate or Hampstead, or Richmond. Rural! Quotha—rocks—pines—torrents—glaciers—clouds—and summits of eternal snow far above them—and rural!"

At Clarens, the scene of the "Nouvelle Heloise," Lord B. found the house tenanted by an English lady, and saw Blair's sermons lying on the table, and some one else's *sermons*!

From Chillon to Clarens the whole road, he says, was beautiful as a dream, and now almost as indistinct.

"Among the mountains was a shepherd on a very steep and high cliff playing on his pipe; very different from Arcadia, where I saw the shepherds with long muskets, instead of crooks, and pistols at their

## Lord Byron's Journal

girdles. The pipe was sweet and the tune agreeable. In passing the ravine the guide recommended strongly a quickening of our pace, as the stones fell with great rapidity and occasional damage. The advice was excellent, but, like most good advice, impracticable, the road being so rough that neither mule, horse, nor man make any violent progress. However, we passed without fractures.

"The music of the cows' bells (for their wealth, like that of the patriarchs, consists in cattle) in pastures that reach to a height far above any mountains in Britain, and the shepherds shouting to us from crag to crag, where the steeps appeared to us inaccessible—these with the charms of the surrounding country scenery realised all that I had heard or imagined of a pastoral existence. Much more so than Greece or Asia Minor; for there we are a little too much in the sabre and musket order, and if there is a crook in one hand, there is sure to be a gun in the other. But this was pure and unmixed, solitary, savage, and patriarchal. As we went, they played the 'Ranz des vaches' and other airs, by way of farewell. I have re-peopled my mind with Nature.

"At Lauterbrunnen we found the Swiss curate's house very good, better than most English vicarages. It is immediately opposite a great torrent, or cascade (900 feet high) which curves over the rock. It is in shape like the tail of a white horse streaming in the wind; such as it might be conceived would be that of the *Pale Horse*, on which Death is mounted in the Apocalypse. It is neither mist nor water, but something between them both. The immense height gives

## Lord Byron's Journal

it a wavering curve, a spreading here and condensation there, wonderful and indescribable.

"Arrived at the Grindelvald, dined, mounted again, and rode to the higher glacier. Twilight, but distinct; very fine glacier, a *frozen hurricane*, starlight, beautiful, but the devil of a path. Never mind; got safe down. The whole of the day as fine in point of weather as the day on which Paradise was made."

In speaking of the appearances on a great mountain which they ascended (the name of which I forgot to take down) he says: "The clouds rose from the opposite valley, curling up perpendicular precipices like the foam of the ocean of hell during a spring tide. It was white and sulphury and immeasurably deep in appearance. The side we ascended was, of course, not so precipitous, but on reaching the summit we looked down upon the other side upon a boiling sea of cloud dashing against the crags on which we stood.

"Being now out of the mountains my journal must be as flat as the country we traversed. From Thun to Berne we had good roads, property, and the commonplace tokens of insipid civilisation.

"Reached Aubonne (the entrance and bridge something like Durham), which commands by far the fairest view of the Lake of Geneva. The light—the moon on the lake—a grove of very noble trees on the height. Here Tavernier, the Eastern traveller, bought or built the château, because the site resembled or equalled that of *Erivan*, a frontier city of Persia."

## Death of Horner

*Feb. 17, 1817.*

The Opposition expect good divisions this week, especially on the question to-morrow respecting the Lords of the Admiralty. Some think that if the Ministers are beat on these questions they will get frightened, and advise the Prince to send for Lord Grey ; but I consider such an event as hardly within the limits of possibility ; and I should be very sorry that the Government should be thrown upon our friends in such times.

The Reports of the Secret Committees will be presented to-day or to-morrow. Their great subject is the extension of secret societies, and particularly *Luddites*; a great evil, but very little within the reach of legislation. I am just going to a splendid and dull dinner at the Duke of Gloucester's, to meet the Cambridge deputation who are come up with the address to the Regent.

*March 1, 1817.*

I am extremely obliged to you for your kind letter on the loss of my invaluable friend. It is a subject on which I cannot yet speak or write with any tolerable degree of composure. It has spread a gloom over our whole circle of society. Nor is this feeling confined to Horner's immediate friends. It is universally and strongly expressed, especially in that place where he was pursuing so honourable a career and where his loss is truly irreparable. The House of Commons, all parties, and all individuals unite in bearing testimony to his distinguished talents, his manly and impressive eloquence, and the simplicity, indepen-



## Scott's Novels

dence, and integrity which marked every part of his conduct. You will be happy to hear that by a general understanding throughout the House, and on the suggestion of the Speaker himself, an opportunity will be taken of giving a public expression to these feelings on moving the writ for the vacant seat.

Abercromby is much obliged to you for your kind note on this melancholy occasion.

The divisions upon the suspension of the Habeas Corpus have been much better than could be expected; and the debates on the part of the Opposition have been entirely triumphant. The best speeches were those of Romilly, Burdett, and Lord Folkestone, especially the first, but the speech is miserably reported in the *Chronicle*. It is much better given in the *Times*. On the part of the Administration nothing tolerable has been said; and I cannot but hope that the measure will fail in a considerable degree of obtaining the popularity and effect that were expected from it. The Ministers were certainly much surprised at the greatness of the minorities. Still, they have gained a great object in diverting the public attention from subjects of economy and retrenchment.

With respect to the "Tales of my Landlord," I agree with you that "Old Mortality" is on the whole superior to any of W. Scott's works, especially those in prose. But I still think it most probable *he* is the author; and this is the clear and decided opinion of the most intelligent persons, and those who best know him in Edinburgh. His brother, Tom Scott, having failed in his circumstances at home, is now

## “Edinburgh Review”

a regimental paymaster in Canada. He possesses some of his brother's talents, but he is at a distance from books and has no literary experience. Possibly he may have furnished some outlines or sketches which his brother has filled up.<sup>1</sup> That Walter Scott has had *some* concern with the work is not denied, and several of his anecdotes and jokes are recognised in different parts of the novels. It is, therefore, only a question of degree.

Mr. Greenfield, the other person who has been talked of, is considered by the *Edinburgh* critics who know him, to be quite incapable of writing these novels. His style and the nature of his talents, of which there are some specimens in the *Quarterly Review*, differ totally from the style and tone of the works alluded to.

Articles in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*.

“Lord Byron”—Jeffrey.

“Catholic Question”—Brougham.

“Defence of Usury”—Do.

“Commercial Distress”—probably the same.

“Buonaparte”—Allen, of Holland House.

In the *Quarterly*, “Lord Byron” is by Walter Scott, and “Buonaparte” and “Parliamentary Reform” by Southey.

<sup>1</sup> Walter Scott, in his desire to conceal the authorship of the Waverley novels, countenanced the rumour that they were written by his brother. Murray believed the report in 1817, and so late as 1855, William J. Fitzpatrick, in several letters to *Notes and Queries*, claimed that Thomas Scott was entitled to the chief credit for them. The claim was rejected by the three daughters of T. Scott.—*Times*, June 5, 1857.

## Brougham

*March 6, 1817.*

Warburton informs me that he is certainly to go with Binda to-morrow to Easton Grey. I have made up a little parcel for him or Binda to take. It consists of a curious poem called "Wat Tyler," written by Southey twenty-five years ago upon the *Spencean*<sup>1</sup> principles, two or three chapters of the MS. "Travels of Browne,"<sup>2</sup> sent me by his executor, with a view to publication, and two notes of poor Horner and his last letter, which may be interesting to you at this time, as well as a letter of Mackintosh from India acquainting me with his project of writing his history.

I have no doubt you must have been highly gratified by what passed on Monday in the House of Commons. The tribute to poor Horner's memory from persons of all descriptions is highly gratifying to his friends and connections. The close of Romilly's speech on this melancholy occasion is in a high strain of excellence.

You will be concerned to hear that Tierney is far from well. He has a complaint of some standing connected apparently with the liver, for which he takes calomel, and is often obliged to absent himself from the House. This is a great loss, and a serious addition to the many disadvantages which the Opposition has lately sustained. Brougham, it is true, constantly attends, and will become by degrees the practical leader of the party. But this, for some time, will be a great source of weakness; for many of them will not act cordially under such a leader.

<sup>1</sup> Called after Thomas Spence's scheme of land nationalisation.

<sup>2</sup> Oriental traveller. Was murdered on his way to Teheran, 1813.

## Jeffrey

"Wat Tyler" is for the library at Easton Grey. It is a great literary curiosity.<sup>1</sup>

March 11, 1817.

I agree very much in your opinion respecting Jeffrey's critique of Lord Byron. His taste I have long thought very much perverted; and his praises in this instance are violent and exaggerated. It is not creditable to see the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews* bidding, as it were, against each other for the favour of Lord Byron, at a time when he is going out of favour with the public. One might almost suspect that they are afraid of his satirical powers.

You are aware that Jeffrey has been here lately attending the House of Lords on a great Scotch appeal; and, of course, went a great deal into society. But though he showed great talents, neither his public nor private exhibitions were considered as successful, and the journey did not add to his English reputation. He is too subtle and refined, and too little in earnest; and we applied to him what Voltaire said of Rousseau, "Il n'est pas philosophe, mais le premier des sophistes."

Baring says that the Duke of Wellington told him in Paris that he considered the present French Ministry perfectly safe, and that the king's death would make no material difference; "Monsieur" being too timid, whatever might be his private inclinations,

<sup>1</sup> Southey's poem of "Wat Tyler," which was written in 1794 and piratically issued in 1817. Southey applied for, but did not succeed in obtaining, an injunction from Chancery to stop the publication. A contemptuous comparison in the House of Commons by W. Smith, M.P., of its language with that used by Southey in a recent number of the *Quarterly Review*, provoked its author into addressing a printed letter to him.

## Ricardo

to attempt a total change of system. Talleyrand's return to Court is entirely with the concurrence of the ministers, to show that they are not afraid of him or the Ultras.

You see that Lord Holland has given notice of a motion relative to the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena. His information is from the Pole who accompanied him to his place of exile, and who is lately returned. Sir Hudson Lowe's conduct seems to have been quite unjustifiable; and Lord Holland's proceeding is manly and generous but not very politic. For it will give occasion for much abuse in the *Courier*, and increase the unpopularity of the Opposition. This, however, in the present state of the prospects of the Party, is not a very important circumstance. You will be sorry to hear of the failure of the Chinese Embassy, probably in consequence of the Nepaul war. But I hear that Lord Amherst was not sanguine when he went out in his hopes of a favourable reception.

March 14, 1817.

I hope you have seen the Ricardos while they have been in the country. I have not seen or heard of his work on Political Economy except from you. I will ask Malthus about it, but am afraid it will be too *metaphysical* for my taste.<sup>1</sup>

March 22, 1817.

I have been much engaged for several days with poor Leonard Horner, who was here on his return from Pisa. He has been extremely harassed, and

<sup>1</sup> "Principles of Political Economy and Taxation."

## Letter from Sydney Smith

his health has suffered a good deal, but I trust not permanently or materially. The account he gives of his brother's last moments is in many respects very consolatory. He suffered no pain, and seems not to have been conscious of his approaching dissolution. For some days he had felt himself much better, and even flattered himself with the hopes of travelling the next summer circuit on horseback! The night before his death he had his Italian master with him for two hours, and read the greater part of a canto of Tasso, repeating at the same time from memory several corresponding passages from Virgil.

*From the Rev. Sydney Smith to Mr. Whishaw.*

*March 26, 1817.*

MY DEAR WHISHAW,—I have received a melancholy fragment from poor Horner, a letter half finished at his death. I cannot say how much I was affected by it; indeed, in looking back on my own mind I never remember to have felt any event more deeply than his death. It will give us the most sincere pleasure to see you here if it is in your power to reach us. Let us detain you, if you do come, as long as your other avocations will permit.

It is very requisite there should be a monument to Horner. It will be some little satisfaction to us all. I am not without hopes of being in town but do not like leaving the country without collecting the little rents that are due to me. Indeed, if I omitted that ceremony before leaving my friends,

## Letter from Sydney Smith

I most probably should never see them again. Lord Holland has told you the danger I am exposed to of becoming Rector of Covent Garden, of horticultural notoriety. I think this is placing a clergyman in the post of honour, in the van of the battle. Many of my fashionable female hearers in the chapels at the west end of the town were bad, but they were not professional. It would be a most ludicrous ecclesiastical position.

I had a letter from Philips<sup>1</sup> yesterday; he begins to tremble for Manchester. In this part of the country there is not the slightest degree of distress among the poor. Everybody is employed and at fair wages, but we are purely agricultural. I was surprised to find Bobus among the anti-alarmists: he does not always keep such good company.

We saw little Jeffrey in his way down. I should be glad to know whether he made a good figure in the House of Lords and produced any effect. I had not seen him for some time, and found him little improved in manner. In essentials he cannot improve. Lady Holland has not written to me since she was in this country. I think I am in disgrace at Court. I shall soon see by Antonio's<sup>2</sup> mode of treating me. Mrs. Sydney sends her kind regards.

Ever, my dear Whishaw,

Most truly yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> George Philips, the "patriotic and fashionable *scavenger* from Manchester" (Creevey), was interested in the cotton trade, and was member for Ilchester from 1812 to 1818.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Holland's page.

## African Travellers

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*March 26, 1817.*

There seems to be a fatality as to African discoveries. Major Peddie, the leader of the expedition to the Niger, is dead. The route which he meant to pursue was that by which Watt and Winterbotham penetrated into the interior in 1794 by Rio Nunez. Major Peddie and his party came from Senegal to Sierra Leone in November or December last, and from thence proceeded to Rio Nunez; and it was in preparing to set out from Kakundy (a town on that river) that he died. These are all the particulars I have yet heard.

I do not know whether I shall find Warburton at the concert this evening. When he returns I mean to employ him in looking at Browne's MS. Journal in the Museum. If he is still with you, tell him that Sir H. Davy is gone on a fishing expedition, with Solly and Pepys, to Andrew Knight's. Rogers says it is an *alibi* from Lady Davy.

I hear nothing of Ricardo's publication; but I do not think Mill's<sup>1</sup> judgment can be implicitly relied on. He is clever and ingenious, but by no means a sensible man.

*April 2, 1817.*

Murray is quite willing to undertake the publication of "Browne's Travels." The name, he is confident, will ensure a certain degree of success, especially if the work be accompanied with the account of the author's life and discoveries. Lord Byron has sent

<sup>1</sup> James Mill.



## Cobbett—Ricardo

home a dramatic piece in three acts, which he calls a "Witch's Tragedy," composed, probably, in that monstrous and exaggerated taste for which his works are so remarkable. He is highly pleased at what he terms the *candour* and *delicacy* of the *Quarterly* reviewer (Walter Scott), but does not appear to have seen the *Edinburgh Review*. He talks of returning to England in May.

Cobbett's flight is very surprising, but it is not altogether to be attributed to the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus. He has been very imprudent in his land speculations in Hampshire, and is deeply in debt. Besides which he is naturally cowardly, and has been writing very tamely and feebly since the commencement of the present alarms.

I accompanied Ricardo on Saturday to Holland House. He seemed pleased with his visit. His book is coming out immediately.

*April 4, 1817.*

I write only to say that Mr. Ricardo has just concluded a treaty for the marriage of his son Osmond with some lady whom the young man met at Bath, and who, I believe, is of a Warwickshire family. I have not heard her name,<sup>1</sup> but Binda says they are highly pleased with the connection.

Mr. Ricardo went down on this business to Bath on Monday, and returned yesterday morning. To-morrow, I believe, he will join our party at the College. It cannot be said that Mr. Ricardo has been improperly influenced, as to the principles of population, by his intimacy with Malthus. He will

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mallory.

## Lord Amherst's Embassy

enjoy the blessing of Abraham, and may expect to see a tribe of grandchildren and great-grandchildren round his table.

I forget whether I told you that Madame de Staël has had a violent bilious fever, and that there are great doubts as to her final recovery. I believe that her book, after being offered to several foreign book-sellers, will at last be sold to Murray on the terms he originally proposed—£1,500 for the first edition and £500 on the publication of a second.

*April 14, 1817.*

I have lately looked over the "Embassy to China" of Sir G. Staunton, and entirely agree with you that it is one of the most dull and pompous books existing. I am reading Van Braam's account of the Dutch Embassy, made the following year, which, though not a lively work, is much more interesting than the former. Taking both accounts together, it seems to have been quite preposterous to send out Lord Amherst. Nothing better was to be expected than what actually took place, and it was almost as if Mr. Canning's friend was to be provided with a *sinecure Embassy* as well as his master. The East India Company are understood to have been quite averse to the measure.

Philips is just come from Manchester and Scarlett from the Northern Circuit. They both agreed that Lancashire is remarkably quiet; and Scarlett is clear that the Manchester conspiracies were false alarms. One of the leading orators is a brick-layer's labourer, lately a Methodist preacher, now a Spencean philosopher, and the people brought to

## Manchester Riots

London and examined day after day at Lord Sidmouth's<sup>1</sup> office are of the lowest class of society. No books or papers have been found, and it is thought they have no evidence sufficient to bring them to trial. Many, indeed, have been discharged both at Manchester and Chester. Indeed, the form of the commitments were perfectly ludicrous: "For that they, together with other ill-disposed persons, amounting to five thousand, combined together and conspired to proceed from Manchester to London for the purpose of presenting a seditious petition to the Prince Regent, &c."<sup>2</sup>

*May 6, 1817.*

The new tragedy,<sup>3</sup> owing to good acting, will have some temporary success; your remarks on Miss O'Neil appear to be very just. With all her merits she is defective in propriety and good taste, especially in scenes of horror.

*May 7th.*

I am afraid Canning had a great triumph last night, and that he fully reinstated himself in the good opinion of the House. The case<sup>4</sup> no doubt in reality

<sup>1</sup> Home Secretary.

<sup>2</sup> This expedition was known as the march of the "Blanketeers," as each petitioner took with him a blanket to keep himself warm.

<sup>3</sup> "The Apostate," by Richard Lalor Sheil, the famous Irish politician. It was produced at Covent Garden, with Charles Kemble, Young, and Macready among the actors, with Miss O'Neil, afterwards Lady Becher, in the chief feminine part, and was a marked success.

<sup>4</sup> Refers to Canning's great speech in defence of his Embassy to Lisbon in 1814. Mr. Lambton's motion had condemned his appointment on the ground that it was uncalled for and "has been attended with an unnecessary and unjustifiable waste of the public money." Some of the Opposition went so far as to assert that it "was a job" instituted to provide a comfortable retreat for Canning.

## Dr. Watson

is a gross job, but personal questions are always hazardous and generally unpopular, and the House showed the greatest willingness to accept anything which might bear the appearance of a justification. Canning's speech was ingenious and brilliant, and carried everything before it ; Brougham was hardly listened to.

*June 18, 1817.*

The acquittal of Watson is a great triumph, and highly honourable to the English law and trial by jury. After reading the trial I am satisfied that the verdict was perfectly right ; for independent of Castle there was no proper evidence to convict Watson of a treasonable conspiracy. The result is very discreditable to the Government and its law officers.<sup>1</sup>

*June 21, 1817.*

The Ministers have got into some discredit by their credulity as to plots and employment of spies, and by the misconduct of their law officers in Scotland. Lord Milton's speech last night (from an *alarmist* and a person well acquainted with the disturbed part of Yorkshire) was very important, and produced a great effect. It is evident that the whole danger consists in Luddism, and arises from scarcity, and want of employment ; and that there is no conspiracy, with the exception of such ridiculous projects as those of Dr. Watson.

<sup>1</sup> James Watson was a follower of Thomas Spence, condemning the private ownership of land and advocating "parochial partnership." After the Spa Fields riots he was charged with high treason (June, 1817), but was acquitted. He died in New York in 1838.

## Lord Lansdowne

Lords Grenville and Grey having intimated their intention in the debate of Monday of retiring from politics, it is thought that Lord Lansdowne will be the leader of the Opposition.

I received the communication last night of poor Mr. Edgeworth's death, which took place on the 13th. Since the letters I read to you he sent me another, dictated with great vivacity desiring me to send him my criticisms on the new tales, as soon as it was "physically possible"; having ordered the publisher to send me the first impression of the work.

Moore's poem<sup>1</sup> is a failure, and need not excite your curiosity; so, I think, is Lord Byron's "Manfred," though there are striking passages.

*June 24, 1817.*

I had a very pleasant day at Lansdowne House yesterday. They inquired particularly after you and Mrs. Smith, and hope to see you soon after they get to Bowood. Lady Lansdowne is in excellent spirits but not quite recovered. She has undergone great fatigues; for it seems that, not liking to wait at Lerici, they left their carriage to come by water and came to Genoa by rocky and bad roads on horseback eighty miles, sleeping, of course, at wretched inns, and the labour of the journey not being in any way repaid by any particular beauty of scenery. From Genoa they came to London, stopping only half a day in Paris in twelve days, so anxious were they to be here before the discussion of the Suspension Bill. The debate last night in the House of Commons was most

<sup>1</sup> "Lalla Rookh."

## Ponsonby—Brougham

triumphant on the part of the Opposition. Romilly spoke admirably.

Miss Mercer <sup>1</sup> was married to General Flahault <sup>2</sup> at Edinburgh on Friday last. Lord Keith was not present, but it is said he will relent. They are gone into Perthshire.

*July 5, 1817.*

Ponsonby's illness was very sudden, and is certainly very serious. It seems to put an entire end to his public life, and will deprive the Whigs of a leader whose place, though he had never been very efficient, it will be very difficult to supply. The embarrassments attending the choice are very great, principally on account of the unpopularity of Brougham, who after all must be the efficient leader. I apprehend, therefore, that no appointment will take place at present, but that people will be left to take their own course; and it is to be feared that many may find their way to the other side of the House.

I have met Talma in company, and heard his recitations, which has given me the opportunity of observing his merits and defects. Upon the whole I have been much pleased with him. He appears in

<sup>1</sup> Miss Mercer was one of the great heiresses of the day, and was the attached friend and confidant of Princess Charlotte. She succeeded her father Baron Keith, and was also Baroness Nairne in her own right. At her death the Barony of Keith became extinct. Her daughter, Lady Lansdowne, succeeded to the Barony of Nairne.

<sup>2</sup> General de Flahault was a French *émigré* of no fortune, one of Napoleon's chief favourites and a reputed son of Talleyrand by Madame de Sonza, formerly Madame de Flahault.

## Brougham

some respects to more advantage as a private individual than on the stage ; the awkwardness of his person being less apparent. He is much pleased with his reception here, and talks of returning next spring, though his public recitations were not very successful.

Miss Edgeworth's new tales appear to be a failure ; at least they are decidedly inferior to the best of her former works. The first part of "Ormond" is perhaps an exception to this censure. A book has just been published by Lady Morgan, a popular novelist, on France, which seems to be entertaining, and written with very just and liberal views ; but it is too large and much too expensive. I forget whether I have mentioned to you "Manfred," and Moore's new poem. They may perhaps acquire a little temporary popularity with the fanciful votaries of modern poetry, but can never be permanently successful.

July 15, 1817.

Brougham made an unfortunate *finale* on Friday, and gave occasion to the best speeches from Canning and Castlereagh which they had made during the Session.

Lady Holland writes from Brussels that their journey has been very prosperous, but that she fears they must go to Holland by Gorcum on account of the bad roads by Nimeguen and Bois le Duc. The French and English Governments and the *Duke of Wellington* insist upon all the Napoleonists being expelled from the Netherlands before the 14th of August.

## Madame de Staël

*July 23, 1817.*

I hope to send you some extracts from Mr. Edgeworth's letters which are really interesting and very creditable to his memory. He has left something in the shape of memoirs, which will probably require omissions and corrections. It will give you great pleasure to hear that there is a prospect of letters and papers of poor Horner, which promise to be very interesting and instructive. We had a pleasant day with Warburton on Saturday, and were all much pleased with Chiswick, which is a beautiful specimen of a villa, containing besides several fine pictures. We went also to hear the Apollonicon, which is a very fine organ with six sets of keys, but played by a barrel (the two pieces are Cherubini's overture of Anacreon and Mozart's Clemenza di Tito). It is a noble instrument, but not equal in effect to the organ at Haarlem; and Leonard Horner, who has heard both, agrees with me entirely in this opinion.

I had also obtained an order for our seeing Canova's magnificent colossal statue of Napoleon, which is at Wellington House. It is wretchedly placed at the bottom staircase; but we were all much delighted with it, and I came away with a much higher opinion of Canova's powers; the style of the statue being much more simple and severe than any of his works which I had before seen. The attitude, as Warburton justly observed, is borrowed from the Apollo Belvedere.

Madame de Staël has left a great correspondence, consisting of many volumes of letters from eminent



## J. Mallet

people, many in particular from Talleyrand. Before her death she acknowledged Rocca as her husband, and a child she had by him six or seven years ago as her legitimate son.

Aug. 1, 1817.

As I believe that Mallet will go to Devonshire in the course of the autumn, I hope to induce him to go by Easton Grey; but I wish to know what is the time of the Gloucester music meeting, that he may not interfere with that engagement. Not being able to go myself to Easton Grey, I hope to make amends for my absence by sending you some of my best friends. You know how long I have been connected with Mallet, but it is not till lately that we have been *extremely intimate*. I knew his private worth and excellent public principles; but I did not fully appreciate his pleasing manners, his affectionate disposition, and his refined taste in literature and society. Much as you like him at present, I am sure you will like him still better the more you know him.

DOVER, Aug. 5, 1817.

Just before I left London<sup>1</sup> I saw a letter from Mr. Ward<sup>2</sup> whom you saw at Bowood, mentioning a report, which he seems to believe, that Madame de Staël conformed before her death to the Roman Catholic religion, principally through the influence of her friend M. Schlegel, who became a convert

<sup>1</sup> During the autumn of 1817 Mr. Whishaw was on the Continent for some months.

<sup>2</sup> John William Ward, afterwards Viscount Dudley and Ward by succession. Created Earl Dudley in 1827.

## Ugo Foscolo

some time ago. It is not a very unnatural sequel of her conduct and opinions.

Without making any positive engagements I hope to write to you occasionally during my journey. You will be glad to hear that my commencement has been very auspicious ; the carriage performs capitally, besides being very convenient and the motion very agreeable. I came to Rochester with my own horses, who brought it (stopping an hour at Dartford) in less than six hours. We are now in the act of putting the carriage on board the Antwerp packet. William,<sup>1</sup> as you know, is very active and intelligent, and I am glad to find that he has a great taste for the journey. He asked me this morning, with some earnestness, whether "it was really true that we should see those grand mountains the Alps."

I send Mrs. Smith a letter received from poor Foscolo,<sup>2</sup> which may perhaps be worth adding to her

<sup>1</sup> His servant.

<sup>2</sup> Ugo Foscolo, 1777-1827, distinguished refugee and writer, a contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*.

*From Ugo Foscolo to Mr. Whishaw.*

(No date.)

Que le ciel soit propice a votre voyage, mon cher Monsieur, et que le ciel me donne le consolation de vous revoir ! car, et je le vous declare au moment de votre départ, je vous aime avec mon âme et avec mon esprit, et je ne penserai jamais a vous sans reconnaissance pour l'interêt que vous avez voulu prendre pour un étranger qui n'avait aucun titre à votre amitié, et si la fortune m'éloignera pour toujours de ma patrie, elle ne pourra pas me faire perdre le souvenir et l'affection avec laquelle je suis, mon cher Monsieur, votre serviteur et votre ami,

UGO FOSCOLO.

## Paris

collection. He is abundantly grateful for a few slight civilities which I have shown him ; and is in his nature generous and kind, but very jealous and irritable.

PARIS, HÔTEL DE RIVOLI,

Aug. 18, 1817.

I called on M. Gallois, who unluckily was gone into the country for a few days ; but I found Benjamin Constant at home and had a long conversation with him. He entirely denies the strange story of Madame de Staël's conversion, for which I am satisfied there is no foundation. I have written to Murray, the bookseller, who received and has given circulation to the account, to desire that he will contradict the report.

Pray tell Mrs. Smith that the Parisian bonnets and headdresses seem to be more preposterous even than last year. The favourite amusement of the ladies is to slide down in cars, from great eminences, constructed for the purpose, called *Montagnes Russes*, for which a more complicated machinery is now substituted, called *Les Montagnes, Suisses*, or *Aériennes*. Great gardens have just been opened with a large apparatus of this kind in the Champs Elysees.

LINCOLN'S INN,

Nov. 8, 1817.

The death of the Princess Charlotte has produced an universal gloom, and is felt as a great public calamity. Lord King, who has been several times at Claremont, writes to me that he is more affected than he could have supposed it possible by such an event. The Prince and Princess were so happy in each other,

## Death of Princess Charlotte

and conducted themselves so well as to have engaged the affections of all that neighbourhood, and the grief for her loss is universal and sincere. With respect, however, to party politics, the event is of no great importance; the Prince appearing to have obtained an overruling influence, and though courteous to the Opposition, being devotedly attached to the present Ministers, and especially to Lord Castlereagh, one of the principal authors of the marriage.

I find it a very agreeable occupation to look over the different Travels in Italy, none of which satisfy me, Eustace<sup>1</sup> perhaps, least of all because of his great pretensions. Forsyth,<sup>2</sup> though he has the merit of thinking for himself, is likewise very unsatisfactory. A good book on Italy is still wanting and is likely to remain so, since it requires a greater combination of knowledge, good taste, and good sense than will ever be devoted to such a composition. Persons possessing these qualities in the requisite degree will not write books of travels.

Lord Byron has finished his fourth canto, which will be brought back by J. Hobhouse. It relates

<sup>1</sup> John Chetwode Eustace, 1762-1815, a Liberal Roman Catholic, and friend of Edmund Burke. Travelled in Italy in 1802 and again later. His tour through Italy was published in 1813, which acquired for him immediately a wide reputation. Hobhouse, however, criticised him as "one of the most inaccurate and unsatisfactory writers of our time." He died at Naples, 1815.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Forsyth, 1763-1815. Spent most of 1802 and 1803 in travelling in Italy. He was imprisoned during the war at Nismes and afterwards at Verdun, where he remained five years, and only regained his liberty in 1814. His "Remarks on Antiquities, Arts Letters" came out in 1813, and was often reprinted.

## Byron—Mackintosh

principally to Venice. I hope his muse will do justice to that extraordinary place, beautiful in itself and rich in historical recollections, and rendered perhaps still more interesting by its present melancholy state of depopulation and decay.

*Nov. 27, 1817.*

I think it very likely that J. Hobhouse will publish, and I know he has written some notes for the fourth canto of "Childe Harold," which is to be published this winter. Did I tell you that he is to receive no less than £2,500 for this single poem? He insisted on that sum.

He (Lord Byron) has written some curious letters, which I have seen, among others a singular admission that upon looking into the older poets, especially *Pope*, and comparing them with himself, and the other fashionable moderns, he is struck with a great sense of inferiority.

*Dec. 6, 1817.*

I returned the beginning of this week from a very agreeable visit to Sir J. Mackintosh, with whom I passed the best part of three days. He was in good spirits, and has lost none of his powers of conversation, but his health is variable, and he has passed a very indifferent summer, by which the progress of his work has been a great deal retarded. He showed me many curious historical documents, which throw light on the transactions of the present reign.

I spoke in my last letter of Lord Byron's singular testimony in favour of *Pope*. In one of his late letters from Venice, speaking of "Lalla Rookh," and of Moore's poetical style, he says : " Scott, Moore, Wordsworth,

## Byron

Southey, Campbell, and I are all of us wrong, and have gone upon a revolutionary poetical system or systems not worth a damn. I have no doubt that posterity, and perhaps the present generation, will finally be of this opinion. I am the more convinced of this, from having lately read several books of the writers just mentioned, side by side with some of our great classics, especially Pope; and I am astonished and mortified at the ineffable distance between the little man of Queen Anne's reign and us of the lower empire, not only in sense, harmony, and general effect, but in imagination, passion, and even in invention. Depend on it, it was all Horace *then*, and is all Claudian *now*."

I should have been better pleased with this opinion had it been more temperately expressed. I do not quote the letter, but write from recollection, though sure of most of the expressions.

I have received some of Horner's papers, which appear to me to be very interesting, especially those relating to his early studies. I am to read some of the principal passages to the Abercrombys and Mallet, who will assist me with judgment as to what ought finally to be done.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1820, Leonard Horner wrote to Dr. Marcet: "You will, I am sure, be sorry to hear that Mr. Whishaw has finally relinquished the task he had given us some hope he would undertake of writing a biographical memoir of my lamented brother. Ever since the sad death of Sir S. Romilly he has never been able to look at the papers which had been put into his hands. . . . After a great deal of anxious deliberation, it was at length determined by him and by J. Abercromby that I ought to undertake the Memoir myself."

## CHAPTER VI

1818

"Rob Roy"—New books—Travels—Mr. Ritchie, the African traveller—Politics—"Beppo"—Romilly and the Westminster election—The "Saints"—Politics.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*Jan. 22, 1818.*

I HAVE read "Rob Roy," but with no great attention. It seems to be quite worthy of its distinguished author, but inferior in point of interest and general merit to its predecessors. Generally speaking, I think it has not been very successful, but there are great authorities the other way, particularly Mackintosh and Smyth.

I forget whether I told you that Mackintosh is appointed Law Professor to the East India College. It will be a great advantage, I trust, to that establishment.

I have not yet read any part of Mill's book,<sup>1</sup> but Mallet and I are going to look into him this evening. I am afraid that, although perhaps a useful library

<sup>1</sup> James Mill's "History of India."

## New Books

book, it is far from being a good history. It seems to be wholly deficient in the tone, temper, and dignity which belong to historical composition.

We have been much pleased with a little book called "Notes on a Journey in America" by Morris Birkbeck. It contains in a small compass a very interesting and instructive account of the United States.

Franklin's memoirs are just published, but I have not seen them; and Captain Hall's account of the Lewchew Islands will appear in a few days. New "Tales of my Landlord" are talked of in Scotland. What a crowd of entertaining publications, and how much better than battles of Austerlitz and Jena, or even Leipsic or Waterloo!

*Jan. 27, 1818.*

Did I mention that the Prince has announced his design that the Ministers and others attending his Court shall wear fine uniforms or liveries, according to prescribed regulations like those lately established at Hanover? The Ministers, though prepared to submit if necessary, are very averse to such follies, but his Royal Highness is said to be inexorable.

I hope that the differences among the Opposition are not very serious. I hear of no one decidedly unreasonable except Elliot,<sup>1</sup> the old follower and pupil of Burke. Lord Milton is said to be very well disposed, as are Lord and Lady Spencer. There are many reports of county gentlemen who are seceding from the ministerial side, or who at least decline

<sup>1</sup> Right Hon. W. Elliot, of Wells, known as "The Castle Spectre."



## Warburton

voting, and it would be in this way that a general discontent would at first appear; but recollecting what took place after the Walcheren expedition, when such reports were still more current, I have no great expectations; and I should certainly tremble for our friends if they were to come into office in times resembling the present. With the Court adverse and the people not favourable, they would be endangered by every great measure, and would hardly retain their places for six months.

Jan. 22, 1818.

I am afraid you will hardly see Warburton at present. He has been for the best part of a week with Sir John Sebright in Hertfordshire, the second visit he has paid within the last six weeks. If there were handsome daughters one might have some conjectures, but I have not the least suspicion in this case. Miss Sebright, though mathematical and mechanical and geological, has no great personal attractions, and some considerable singularities. Sitting next her one day, I asked whether she had seen some new publications then much talked of. "Oh dear no!" she replied; "it's a poem I believe you mean, and I never read poetry."

I will just mention that I have become acquainted a little with Madame Fodor, the *prima donna* of the opera. She sings with great taste, and is a pleasing and amiable woman, married to a well-behaved, unaffected Frenchman.

Feb. 21, 1818.

Lord Sidmouth is supposed to be tottering on his ministerial throne. In case of his retirement he will

## Peel

be succeeded by Peel, who made the famous anti-Catholic speech last year, and is the great favourite of the Court party. His original principles were those of a Manchester Church and King Tory, which his Oxford education has not improved. He is considered as treading in the steps of Perceval, and I am afraid is certainly destined to be the Minister of this country.

Leonard Horner has been in London, and I have had a great deal of conversation with him respecting his brother's papers, which are certainly very interesting. The family are so kind as to leave everything to my determination ; and I think something must be attempted. But my official engagements are still unremitted, and I have no time to sit down seriously to such an undertaking.

Since I finished my letter I have accidentally seen at Murray's Mr. Ritchie,<sup>1</sup> who is going to attempt a new passage into the interior of Africa by way of Tripoli. He said he had the greatest desire to see me, and desired to call on me to-morrow. His appearance is striking and prepossessing ; you shall hear further of him.

*March 7, 1818.*

Since I last wrote I have had several conferences with Mr. Ritchie, the young African traveller, whom

<sup>1</sup> Ritchie was the son of a surgeon, and followed his father's profession. He went to Paris in 1817, and saw Humboldt, who recommended him to undertake the expedition to the Nigerian Soudan. He was a friend of Keats, and wrote a "Farewell to England" in Spencerean stanza. Ritchie died in 1819 at Murzuk. His travels were published by his companion, Captain Lyon, in 1821.

## Ritchie's Travels

I mentioned. He is the son of a farmer near Ottley, in Yorkshire, and was brought up as a surgeon at York, after which he attended the hospitals there. He has since been private secretary to Sir Charles Stuart, at Paris, where he was well acquainted with Humboldt and other scientific people. He quits this advantageous situation without regret, having been possessed from his childhood with an ardent desire for travelling. He goes out as an agent for Government to Tripoli and Fezzan, with a determination to penetrate, if possible, to Bornou, for the purpose chiefly of exploring the river Zad, and of ascertaining whether it has any connection with the Niger. The Pacha of Tripoli, now closely connected with the British Government, with whom a communication has been had upon this subject, has promised a safe conduct to Fezzan, and is confident there will be no difficulty in reaching Bornou. The young traveller is confident and sanguine, but at the same time natural and pleasing. He asked my opinion on various points of African geography, and on several of the late books of travels. I could not give him much information; but he pressed me strongly to furnish him with some hints and suggestions in writing, which I hope to do, chiefly with a view to enforcing great care and circumspection.

He set out a few days ago for Paris, where he proposes to remain two months on his way to Africa, in order to improve himself in Arabic and in the art of taking astronomical observations. He talks of being absent about fifteen months. The parting was

## “Childe Harold”

very melancholy, as I could hardly expect to see him again.

A curious poem in the burlesque style has been published by Lord Byron, called “Beppo,” written in a very original vein of humour, and forming a great addition to his poetical reputation. It contains, unfortunately, a furious attack upon his former friend poor Sotheby, who has offended him by his criticisms, and a malignant allusion to his wife, as one who studies mathematics. The fourth canto of “Childe Harold” is sent back to Venice, in order that some passages deemed objectionable (probably attacks on the Regent) might be revised and corrected.

March, 1818.

I ought to have mentioned Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hobhouse as having been of the party at Ricardo's. You have perhaps heard that J. Hobhouse is about to publish separate remarks on Italy (besides the notes on Lord Byron), which are to appear on the same day with the fourth canto of “Childe Harold.” I am afraid he will damage his cause by violence and exaggeration.

Gifford, the *Quarterly* reviewer, who has seen the MSS. of the fourth canto, says that it is decidedly the best of Lord Byron's works.

LONDON, July 10, 1818.

It is time to say something of what has been passing in our own country, which has been a scene of great interest ever since you left us.<sup>1</sup> The season

<sup>1</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Smith were travelling on the Continent.

## Romilly and Westminster

closed with great *éclat* on the part of the Opposition. Romilly in particular distinguished himself, and pronounced a memorable and most appropriate funeral oration over the expiring Parliament. This circumstance probably suggested the fortunate thought of starting him as a candidate in the Whig interest for Westminster—a project rather hazardous at the time, but fully justified by the event, and a great triumph has been gained, on the part of rational liberty, over the Court of Rabble, the parties of St. James and St. Giles. Such, one may say, is the *fanaticism* of the latter party, that Bentham, who has been intimately connected with Romilly near forty years, refused to support him and gave no vote. Mill voted singly for Burdett; and Ricardo at first hesitated, but at length voted for Romilly, and gave him a cordial support. Douglas Kinnaird was a competitor with Hobhouse for the honour of being proposed by the Westminster committee as Burdett's colleague, and fortunately for Hobhouse succeeded in his object.

“By merit raised  
To that bad eminence.”

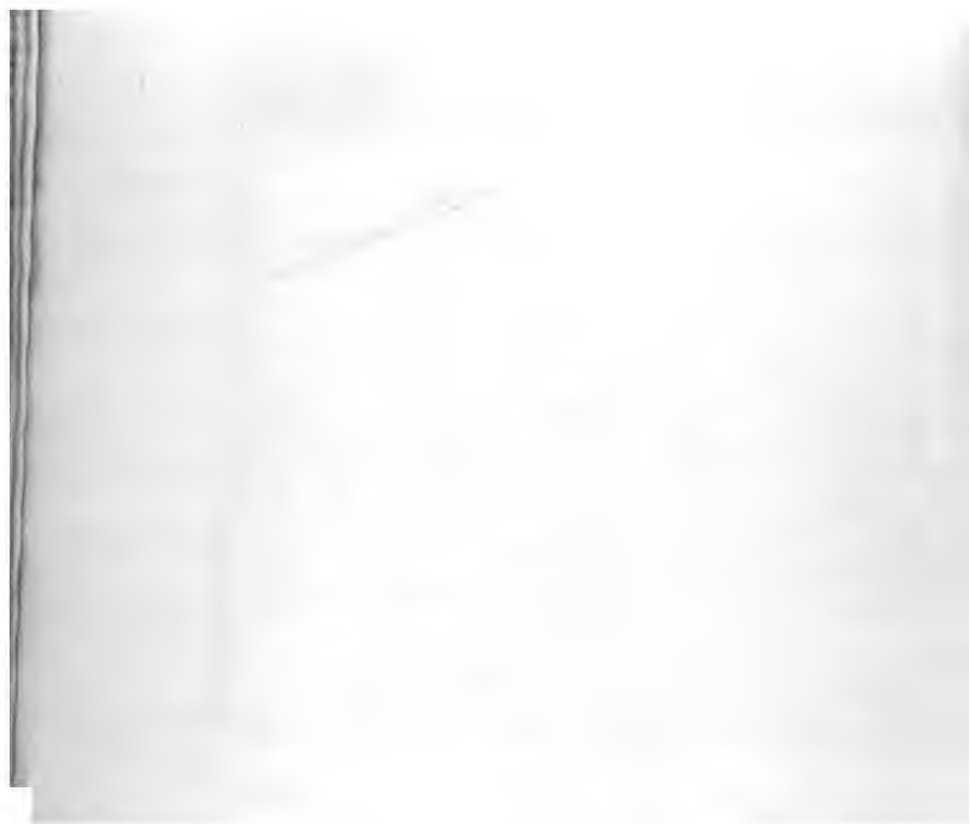
After three days, at which Burdett was constantly losing at the poll, the committee found it necessary to throw Kinnaird overboard, and were obliged to resort to what they term the art of corruption, and to spend money and use every effort on behalf of Burdett, whom they were not able to place at the head of the poll. Kinnaird vented his spleen in a very discreditable manner, by a series of petulant



SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY.

*From a wax portrait by Mr. Percy, executed in 1812, now in the possession of Lady Seymour.*

*To face p. 200.*



## The Elections

speeches on the hustings against the Whigs. The election of *three* Opposition candidates for the City, and of Sir Robert Wilson for the Borough, the defeat of the veteran Curtis, and Barclay the great brewer, are prodigious triumphs for the popular cause, and were wholly unexpected by Government. The return of Lord Ebrington for Devonshire, and Mr. Phillips, of Garendon Park, for Leicestershire, counties hitherto devoted to the Tory interest, must also be enumerated amongst the "signs of the times"; and it must be observed in general that the contested elections in which Tories have succeeded have been carried by great exertions and expense.

It is highly gratifying to think that this series of ministerial failures is mainly to be attributed to the opinions entertained by the great body of the electors to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus and the other strong measures of the late Parliament. I hope that the Opposition will conduct themselves prudently, and make a rational and proper use of the important advantages they have gained. Changes of Ministry in consequence of votes of Parliament are now out of the question; but the Court has received a useful lesson, and may perhaps be taught by experience the impolicy of harsh proceedings and the solid advantages of a mild system of government.

It may be worth mentioning that the *Saints* have suffered greatly in the last elections. Three or four of their strenuous adherents have been thrown out, none of whom is at all to be lamented, except Babington. The rest of the party are the devoted supporters of Lord Castlereagh.



## CHAPTER VII

1819

Deaths of Sir Samuel and Lady Romilly—Italy—Don Juan—  
Marriage of Lord Brougham—Peterloo—Manchester magis-  
trates—Holland House—The young Romillys—Sir Manasseh  
Lopez—Hobhouse—Question of the Prince's divorce—Hob-  
house in Newgate.

[In October, 1818, occurred the deaths of Sir Samuel and Lady Romilly. Mr. Whishaw was left executor and guardian of their children. He was so much occupied with this sad event that there are no letters from him to Mr. Smith till March, 1819. He then writes to him abroad explaining his silence, and after describing the tragedy he says :—]

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

YOU will not wonder that I have no longer  
the same enjoyment of existence :

“Year chases year, decay pursues decay ;  
Still drops some joy from withering life away.”<sup>1</sup>

For some time it was well that I had much urgent  
business to occupy my thoughts ; I might otherwise  
have found it difficult to resist the effect of these

<sup>1</sup> “The Vanity of Human Wishes” (Johnson).

## Romilly

repeated calamities. You will scarcely, perhaps, believe in how great a degree I for some time gave up society, and even books, and how much I lost my interest in all passing events. These feelings and tastes are gradually and slowly returning; but my mind is still "sicklied o'er with a pale cast of thought," and I feel that I am no longer the same person as before.

Among the other charges that my present trust has brought me is the custody and disposal of a great mass of papers and manuscripts, many of which are of considerable importance. If you were justly struck with those interesting papers of poor Horner you would be much more interested in those of Romilly, considering the incessant occupations and engagements of the latter. They consist principally, indeed, of fragments and detached essays relating to his favourite subject, the amelioration of the criminal law; but there are also many important letters, and many interesting details of his early life, all of them honourable in the highest degree to his memory, and placing his great talents and still greater virtues in new and unexpected points of view. I have said little to any of my friends respecting these papers; but I often think with great anxiety as to what will be the proper mode of disposing of them. At present they are not even examined and arranged.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Samuel Romilly's memoirs appeared in 1840, edited by his sons, who had been much assisted in their preparation by Mr. Whishaw.

In a letter written by Etienne Dumont to Whishaw in 1822 he writes:—

"J'attends avec un grand intérêt, mon cher Whishaw, ce que

## J. Hobhouse

I am sure you will excuse my occupying so much of my letter with my personal feelings and concerns. I know that the subject is not uninteresting to you, but it is time to release you from such melancholy topics. I rejoice to hear that you have been so prosperous throughout your journey. You seem, I must confess, to have a little too much of the Englishman in your feelings towards the poor Italians, and hardly to make sufficient allowances for an illustrious but most unfortunate nation, naturally among the most ingenious and distinguished of Europe, but degraded and debased by its forms of religion and government. I am not surprised that you decline staying to the mummary of Holy Week, and that you begin to be seized with the *maladie du pays* and long to be home again.

You have, of course, heard of the event of the Westminster election, and of J. Hobhouse's unexpected failure, owing in a great degree to the confidence and arrogance of his party and their contemptuous treatment of the Whigs. I could only act on public principles, and I was most sincerely hostile to the party that brought him forward and with whom he must necessarily have acted.

vous me direz au sujet des mémoires. Je comprends toutes les difficultés que vous éprouvez, et je pense bien comme Mr. Dugald Stewart, que vous devez travailler à loisir, et qu'un ouvrage de ce genre ne dépend point pour le succès réel d'une publication plus ou moins prompte; quoique le sentiment d'une telle perte ne s'affaiblisse point, il y a des choses qui sont impossibles à l'amitié jusqu'à ce que les impressions se soient adoucies, et je n'oserais pas encore me fier à moi-même pour retracer les souvenirs aussi présents à ma mémoire que si les évènements étaient tout récents."

## Peterloo

*July 17, 1819.*

I have read the greater part of "Don Juan," which is extremely licentious, but (very unfortunately as I think) extremely clever. It must be ranked amongst the first of Lord B.'s productions, and will be very popular. It is fortunate, certainly, that the obnoxious passage we spoke of was expunged from a book which must have a very extensive circulation, and may perhaps remain with posterity. But I am not without apprehension that the suppressed lines should find a place in some future edition.

One of the most interesting subjects at present is Brougham's marriage to a Mrs. Spalding, a handsome and rather dashing widow with three children, a good jointure, and a house in Hill Street. She was formerly Miss Eden, a niece of the late Lord Auckland, and is sister of the lady of Sir Graham Moore, the admiral. The extraordinary thing is that the marriage has been kept secret for some time—according to the most general report, since Easter—without any apparent reason. All, I believe, that can be considered certain is that the parties left London together last week, and are now at Brougham Hall. He wrote to me whilst on the journey, without alluding to the event.

*Aug. 20, 1819.*

What terrible news from Manchester!<sup>1</sup> It seems almost like the commencement of an Irish rebellion. How unfortunate that the yeomanry were called upon to act in the first instance, instead of the regular troops.

<sup>1</sup> Peterloo.

## Manchester Riots

*Aug. 24, 1819.*

Smyth informs me that his family had a narrow escape at Macclesfield, the house having been threatened and nearly attacked by the mob (who had arrived within a few hundred yards) on account of his brother, who is a captain in the volunteer cavalry.

*Sept. 19, 1819.*

It is impossible to exaggerate the bad consequences of the conduct of the Manchester magistracy.<sup>1</sup> Altogether the state of public affairs must be considered as very critical ; and I begin for the first time to be an *alarmist*.

*Sept. 29, 1819.*

I continue to hear satisfactory reports of Brougham ; but I have been much distressed by the accounts I have received from Ampthill respecting the youngest daughter, Georgina,<sup>2</sup> who has been seriously ill several weeks, and lately in considerable danger. Her complaint was originally bilious, but is now inflammatory, of the nature, apparently, of pleurisy. She is now a little better, having been bled five times during a very short period. It is to be hoped her youth will carry her through it : she has no other chance. The family are in the greatest anxiety and affliction.

*Oct. 13, 1819.*

I dined on Sunday at Holland House, where they are in much better spirits, but the little girl, though decidedly better, is still seriously ill. They live very quiet and retired.

<sup>1</sup> In ordering the yeomanry to charge the unarmed mob.

<sup>2</sup> Daughter of Lord and Lady Holland.

## Politics

I am still much engaged with my family. John Romilly,<sup>1</sup> the second son, came here this morning, and will stay two days. We then go to the Mackintoshes, accompanied by Sharp ; and on Saturday we proceed to Cambridge, where Henry and Edward are to meet us from Bury St. Edmunds. I wish to take this opportunity of seeing the boys and showing them the University. I hope to return on Monday.

I have no news, except that there is some prospect of a scheme of moderate and reasonable reform being brought forward by the Whigs ; but I am afraid it will not be generally supported, even by their own party. I hope to write more fully on this subject in the course of next week.

*Nov. 6, 1819.*

I have settled John Romilly at Cambridge, and he seems to be going on well. I have since been at the East India College to meet Smyth, who, as you say, is somewhat of an alarmist, and, I think, with some reason, but he wishes conciliation to be united with firmness. He and Abercromby, from having been in Cheshire and Lancashire in the disturbed districts, are returned with similar sentiments. Lord Lansdowne also, I hear, is unfavourable on the whole to county meetings. He is expected on the 15th, and much will depend on the course he adopts. Lord Grey, though he has been very ill, sets out for London on the 10th.

Lord and Lady Holland are in the deepest affliction,<sup>2</sup> and will be long before they recover a tolerable degree of tranquillity. At present, Lady

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Master of the Rolls and first Baron Romilly.

<sup>2</sup> Owing to the death of their daughter, Georgina.

## Politics

H. bears the loss with the greater firmness ; but she will feel it throughout her whole life.

We talk of restrictions on public meetings and small seditious pamphlets, an extension of the time for the return to payments in specie (by which the great work of last Session will be entirely undone) and an income tax of 5 per cent., which will be carried by dint of terror.

*Nov. 16, 1819.*

Many persons are arrived for the approaching meeting of Parliament, which is expected to be fully attended. The Ministers and their friends say they have a strong case ; but they keep it very secret, as well as the restrictive measures which they intend bringing forward. The Opposition are not yet come to any determination relative to their system of conduct, but I hope they will agree before next week. Lord Lansdowne was expected yesterday ; but the weather has been bad and the wind adverse, and I am afraid they must have had a bad passage.

As Lord L. is understood to have been disinclined to the county meetings, he will probably join the moderates of the Opposition, among whom are Macintosh, Abercromby, Lord A. Hamilton, Lord Morpeth, A. Baring, and some other very good names, who admit the alarm to a certain extent and will not, probably, oppose some reasonable and moderate restrictions on public meetings. On the other hand, Lord Grey, Tierney, Brougham, Sir Robert Wilson, and I believe Lord Holland and the Russells, seem determined to resist all restrictive measures whatever.

The City people are urging very strongly the con-

## The Opposition

tinuance of the Bank restriction ; but hitherto, it is said, Lord Liverpool is disposed to be firm, and to adhere to the measures of last Session.

We are much pleased with the report of Mackintosh on the criminal law, and disgusted by the violent sentence of the King's Bench against the poor *detected* briber, Sir Manasseh Lopez.<sup>1</sup>

Nov. 20.

You will be gratified by hearing that Lord Lansdowne appears to be reasonable and judicious on the political questions which at present agitate the country. He is decidedly against the Manchester magistrates, and will view any restrictive measures which may be proposed by Government with great jealousy. Mackintosh, who has talked with him and Lord Grey, as well as with Brougham and Tierney, tells me that his mind is now very much at ease with regard to the political differences which he apprehended. He sees no reason to doubt that there will be a cordial agreement among the leading members of the Opposition as to all principal points. This is very material ; for though they can do no good by their union, they might do great mischief by their divisions. There will be a full attendance of members, and Tierney reckons that he shall muster from 120 to 130, which at such times and upon such questions is a considerable force. For we must always recollect, whatever may be our individual opinions, that we live in a *Tory country* and that the great majority of well-informed and respectable

<sup>1</sup> He was condemned to two years' imprisonment and a fine of £1,000 for bribing the electors of Grampound.



## Hobhouse's Pamphlet

persons whose sentiments ought to have weight in political questions think very differently from ourselves. Indeed, I am inclined to think that the measure which has been talked of, of giving representatives to Manchester, Glasgow, Halifax, &c., would add to the ministerial majority.

I have been reading J. Hobhouse's last pamphlet,<sup>1</sup> and am much hurt by the tone of violence which prevails through it. For instance, "We have an instinctive horror and disgust at the very abstract idea of a *Boroughmonger*." In this class are to be found the Duke of Bedford, Lord Fitzwilliam, and other true friends of their country; and it should be remembered that we owe to such persons the having in Parliament such men as Romilly, Horner, Mackintosh, Tierney, Brougham, &c., who could not easily have found seats, especially before they were known to the public, by any mode of popular election.

I observe in Hobhouse's pamphlet some passages recommending resistance of force, which might be made ground of a criminal prosecution. I extremely regret all this violence in a man who means well and has many estimable qualities.

Nov. 22, 1819.

The Ministers have brought together an immense mass of supporters, and among others most of their Irish members. William Parnell, who is just arrived, says there were sixty violent alarmists in the same packet with him. Among other renegades you will be sorry to hear that Plunket is to support the

<sup>1</sup> "A Trifling Mistake."

## Meeting of Parliament

Government, as well as the Grenvilles and Lord Wellesley. The latter is coming into office together with some of the Grenvilles.

*Dec. 11, 1819.*

You would be much concerned to hear of J. Hobhouse's scrape.<sup>1</sup> I had been aware for some time that his violence had excited attention, and was apprehensive of some storm. It is not yet settled whether it will be treated as a question of privilege or the Attorney-General will prosecute. The former course will be better, for it will only be confinement in Newgate till the end of the present Session, unless he should make submission, which he certainly will not do.

The meeting of Parliament has been attended with such consequences as we expected. It has done much for alarm and irritation, and nothing for conciliation or tranquillity. The state of the country is indeed very critical; but I am by no means such an alarmist as Lord Strathmore, the Duke of Northumberland, or even Alex. Baring. The evil is greatly increased by such exaggerated reports, to which speeches in Parliament give great currency and circulation.

*Dec. 18th.*

When I said that I considered the meeting of the 18th of August to be illegal, I meant that the Judges would certainly hold it to be so, and that they would have sufficient authorities for that opinion. It must be observed, however, that the law respecting tumultuous meetings, and the right of the magistrates

<sup>1</sup> Publication of anonymous pamphlet, "A Trifling Mistake," for which he was prosecuted for breach of privilege.

## Hobhouse

to interfere, is unfortunately rather vague, and ought to be settled by some definitive enactments. The poor people who were assembled and the principal actors in the meeting certainly thought they were acting legally, and were justified in their opinion by the acquiescence of Government in what had passed at Smithfield and other places.

The Opposition have certainly been of great use in modifying the restrictive measures of the Government. In their present shape, with some exceptions, they are not on the whole very objectionable. Lord Castle-reagh's partial and qualified acquiescence in Lord J. Russell's motion<sup>1</sup> was very gratifying, and a great surprise to the House. It was an approach, though a very slight one, to the principles of Parliamentary reform. But I do not believe that the Bill will be suffered to pass.

I am much concerned for Hobhouse, though he is probably fortunate in having escaped an Information by the Attorney-General, which would have been followed by an imprisonment for two years. I consider what has passed as a vindictive act, on the part of Canning, in return for the anonymous letter; Wortley and Courtenay being his particular friends, and the latter entirely his dependent. In the late number of the *Quarterly Review* there is an attack upon Hobhouse unquestionably from the same quarter.

I am glad you are so much pleased with Lord J. Russell's book, which is very creditable to him.<sup>2</sup> A work on the East by Mr. Henry Hope has been

<sup>1</sup> For the disfranchisement of Grampound.

<sup>2</sup> The Life of William, Lord Russell.

## Hobhouse

lately published, called "Anastatius," the fictitious history of a Greek interspersed with anecdotes and observations collected by the author during his travels. I have a great dislike to such mixtures of truth and fiction, which have usually the effect of spoiling both. The present work seems to be an exception to this general remark.

I am obliged to conclude, being surrounded by the young Romillys, who are just come from school, and are going into Wales on Monday.

Much is said about the Prince's divorce being brought forward in Parliament. His Royal Highness is much bent upon it, but Lord Liverpool and the Chancellor are disinclined to it, and I think the latter will prevail, but time is not propitious.

*Dec. 25, 1819.*

We went together to call on J. Hobhouse the other day, but were informed that he was then taking a walk on the top of the prison, and that he could not be seen without writing a note and making a previous appointment. We accordingly left our names. I hear that he intends, after the example of Sir F. Burdett, to bring an action, which will do no good, and be productive only of expense. I hope the report is unfounded. It is more probable that he has undertaken some literary work—according to one report, on Parliamentary privilege; according to another, the life of Horne Tooke. Lord Erskine says, "When my young literary opponent writes himself into Newgate it is he that makes the 'Trifling Mistake' and not I."

## CHAPTER VIII

1820

The King's health—Gray's Inn—Charge against the Queen—Burckhardt's book—Hobhouse—Hunt—Sir Walter Scott and "The Monastery"—Lord Lansdowne—Brougham—The Queen—Journey to Scotland—Dugald Stewart—Dr. Chalmers—The Queen's trial—Politics—Warburton and Electricity—Murray's new books—Canning's resignation—Bowood—Peel.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*Jan. 22, 1820.*

TWO events occupy our conversation here, the King's health, which is rapidly declining and which makes it pretty certain that this is to be the last Session of the present Parliament, and the supposed downfall of Lady Hertford. Her successor, Lady Conyngham, is the present reigning favourite; and, as she is tolerant and good-natured, will render the Court much more agreeable. But Lady H. will not yield easily, and is disposed to make a last effort to bring back her lover; and as she is greatly superior to her rival in sense and judgment, she may perhaps ultimately be successful. The divorce, or some parliamentary measure upon that subject, will probably be brought forward immediately.

## Gray's Inn

*Jan. 29th.*

The King is rapidly declining ; and it is confidently said to-day that he cannot live out the night. The new Queen will immediately appoint Brougham and probably Denman her Attorney and Solicitor General ; by which they will acquire professional rank and precedence. But these, I am afraid, will be of short duration, for it is determined that she shall be *unqueen'd*.

*Feb. 14, 1820.*

I write a few lines to excuse, or rather to account for, my silence, which has been occasioned partly by business and partly by my having become a Benchers of Gray's Inn, where I have often dined during term-time, and their hours being early, I am obliged to hurry from the office where I am often kept till near four, and then I have no time to write letters. The society of the Bench table is not particularly good, nor the conversation very enlightened ; we are two Whigs (Bell and myself) to about fourteen Tories. But there is great civility and an excellent dinner ; and the variety produced by the old customs, the venerable Hall, and the general air of antiquity is altogether very agreeable.

We look shortly for a dissolution of Parliament, which I am afraid will be unfavourable to the Whigs. The country, I am afraid, at present, is in a very different state from what was the case at the last General Election. But the meditated charge against the Queen may perhaps infuse a little spirit into the public. It is expected to be brought forward immediately, as Her Majesty is not to be prayed for in the churches.

## Hobhouse

Hobhouse is considered as not having been well used by the Judges, but he lost little, probably, by not being heard. His argument, as published in the papers, is a strange mass of ill-digested information, and shows no legal acuteness.

Burckhardt's book on Africa is far from interesting, and not worth the purchase. The most curious part of his travels (to Mecca and Medina) is withheld for the present—for what reason is not stated. I hope soon to send you an engraving of poor Sir Samuel Romilly, which I hope you will hang up in your breakfast-room.

*March 25th.*

Hobhouse, I conclude, has been elected to-day, and I hope will conduct himself with reasonable prudence and temper in Parliament, where he will have many enemies; but he has shown great courage and considerable talent during the whole of the election. Lamb's Government support, on which he principally relied in a great degree, failed him. The King was favourable to his cause, but the Ministers, with the exception of Canning and Huskisson, stood aloof and were indifferent.

Hunt's trial,<sup>1</sup> which will probably terminate to-day,

<sup>1</sup> Henry Hunt, the hero of Peterloo, born 1773, died 1835; was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, which he passed in Ilchester Gaol. He had contested Bristol against Sir Samuel Romilly, stood in 1818 unsuccessfully for Westminster, and opposed Hobhouse in 1819 for the same constituency, thereby securing the election of George Lamb. Was elected for Preston in 1830, and presented the first petition for the Rights of Women.

Sir Samuel Romilly called him "a most unprincipled demagogue" ("Dictionary of National Biography").

## “The Monastery”

is very interesting. The case against him, even as stated by Scarlett, was not a strong one, and was feebly supported by evidence. The result, whatever may be the verdict, cannot but be discreditable to the Manchester magistrates and their panegyrists.

Walter Scott is arrived in town, to be made a baronet. His new novel, “The Monastery,” is just published, and he has now in hand a continuation of it, which is to be called “The Abbot,” or by some such name. He has received for these two novels and “Ivanhoe” 9,000 guineas, and 11,000 for the copyright of the former “Tales of my Landlord.”

*April 8, 1820.*

You have probably read the new novel of “The Monastery,” and have doubtless been pleased with many parts of it, though it seems generally considered as a failure, and *as a whole* it has certainly many defects. But it contains many passages which none but Scott could have written. Among these, the two monks, Boniface and Eustace, and the Reformer (Henry Warden) have given me the greatest pleasure. Some of the earlier appearances of the Spirit (provided such supernatural beings are to be allowed) have considerable merit; and several of the subordinate characters, especially Christy of the Clinthill, are very good. But the coxcomb of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, Sir Piercy Shafton (besides being an anachronism), is quite intolerable. On the whole it seems to me to hold a respectable rank in the second class of these remarkable novels.

Their great author, who arrived very lately to



## Walter Scott

receive his title, is now here enjoying his honours, and apparently in excellent health and spirits. He is going back to marry his daughter to Mr. Lockhart, a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and the principal author of "Peter's Letters," in which he has given a particular account of Playfair, Jeffrey, &c., with none of whom he is acquainted. This work and his connection with *Blackwood's Magazine* have fixed a certain stigma on him ; and though he is an advocate and sufficiently pleasing in his manners, he is hardly noticed or spoken to by the Whig lawyers, who give the tone at Edinburgh. He will now be the leading wit, next to his father-in-law, of the Tories.

The marriage, Scott says, must necessarily take place this month, on account of the Caledonian superstition relative to marriages solemnized in May. Such a circumstance, he says, would dwell on his daughter's imagination, and if anything unfortunate occurred would be productive of serious consequences.

July 19, 1820.

You will see by the papers that Lord Lansdowne has gained a great triumph over the Chancellor by the repeal of the capital punishment in the Bills brought up from the Committee on Criminal Law. It is a striking and instructive instance of the effect of public opinion. The Ministers made a wretched figure on the Barracks and Alien Bill. Lord Holland has spoken admirably on the latter subject.

July 28, 1820.

I have received a long and lively letter from

## Brougham

Brougham, who left town very ill, but has recovered his health and come into full business on the circuit, from which he has been absent five or six years. This has delighted him with the profession of the law, which he vows he never will abandon. It is indeed a very extraordinary and flattering kind of success, and an additional proof of the force and versatility of his talents! In the meanwhile he is writing for the *Edinburgh Review*, and is in constant correspondence with the Queen, and had time to attend the Archbishop's sermon and the venison feast on Sunday.

Aug. 31, 1820.

The interest taken by the public in the Queen's cause is apparent from the great number of letters which Vizard<sup>1</sup> daily receives, containing information and suggestions on this subject. Notwithstanding the publication of the evidence the zeal of the people does not seem to abate (witness the proceedings of the crowded and unanimous meeting of the parish of Marylebone), and if the same spirit should continue, it will be difficult for the House of Commons to pass the Bill.

DALQUHARRAN CASTLE, AYRSHIRE,

Sept. 15, 1820.

I have now been more than a week at Mr. Kennedy's<sup>2</sup> in Ayrshire, and am happy to inform you that I found my friends here very well, and

<sup>1</sup> The Queen's solicitor.

<sup>2</sup> The Right Hon. T. Kennedy had married Miss Romilly, Sir Samuel's daughter.

## Journey to Scotland

their place very beautiful, much exceeding my most sanguine expectations. The house is of stone, handsome, warm, and substantial, such as the climate requires, having been built between thirty and forty years ago when labour and materials, then comparatively cheap, were much less thought of than at present.

I had a very pleasant journey, and contrived to see several new and interesting objects on my way, passing through Nottinghamshire to see the series of Dukes' parks, and afterwards through the West Riding of Yorkshire. I saw Birstall and Bolton Abbey, the latter of which, with its beautiful grounds kept so well by the Duke of Devonshire, detained me a full day. I passed a day also at Brougham Hall, near Penrith, and was highly gratified by the kindness and good sense of old Mrs. Brougham (the niece of Dr. Robertson), who received me, in her son's absence, in the most cordial and hospitable manner. At Dumfries I came by a beautiful road, along the vale of the Nith, to Sanquhar, and from thence crossed into Ayrshire.

I have had another good letter from Mallet, which may perhaps be worth sending, after I have shown it to Leonard Horner at Edinburgh. He speaks of the great diffusion of Liberal principles throughout the Continent, and entertains no doubt that France will shortly put herself at the head of a new order of things in Europe, with far greater advantage than she possessed in 1792. Of course this will not be till the termination of the Bourbon Dynasty, an event not supposed to be very distant.

## The Queen's Divorce

*Oct. 14, 1820.*

Warburton has just called to give me an account of his visit,<sup>1</sup> and to desire that I will write to you respecting the proceedings against the Queen and their probable result. I wish it was possible for me to gratify your curiosity ; but the aspect of affairs changes so much from day to day that it is impossible to say what will or will not happen. A week ago everything was favourable to the Queen, but the evidence of the two lieutenants, or rather the manner in which it was taken up by the Lords, produced a great reverse of fortune ; and it seemed as if the Bill was at last to be carried. Yesterday the affair of Rastelli turned up very opportunely for Her Majesty, and seems to have given a new turn to the proceedings. I have not heard what has been done this morning, upon which a good deal may depend ; but as the Bill stands at present it is certainly a good deal damaged, and stands upon very narrow ground. If Lord Liverpool chooses, the Bill may be carried through the House of Lords ; but the difficulty in the Commons will be much greater, though probably not insuperable. After what has passed, however, it will be impossible, I apprehend, to satisfy the great mass of the country ; and perhaps this circumstance and the continued ferment which the measure is likely to occasion, may perhaps induce the Ministers to withdraw the Bill.

Whatever may be the result of these proceedings, you must not suppose that there is the smallest prospect of a change of Administration. The Sovereign

<sup>1</sup> To Easton Grey.

## The Whigs

even if favourably disposed to Whig Ministers (which is very questionable) is feeble and timid; and the present men have a strong hold upon Parliament and the country, and could not effectually be displaced without a great effort. For my part, I never expect to see again a Whig Ministry, and I do not know, considering by how frail a tenure they must hold their offices, whether such a thing is desirable.

I hope you will agree with me that the Whig Lords, Grey, Lansdowne, and Holland, have distinguished themselves honourably on the present occasion. Have you seen "Advice to Julia" a poem, and "Essays by a Gentleman who has left his Lodgings"? The former is by Luttrell and the latter by Lord J. Russell; and both of them are well worth looking at.

*Oct. 21, 1820.*

In your last letter you expressed a wish to know something of what I saw in Scotland. After leaving Mr. Kennedy's I travelled by the Ayrshire coast, and the shores of the Forth of Clyde to Greenock and Glasgow. Greenock, the port of Glasgow, is a beautiful town which has risen up during the last thirty years, and considering the picturesque country in which it is situated, is one of the most striking seaports in the island. The docks and Custom House are magnificent, and everything appeared to be flourishing. It has no less than twenty-eight steam-boats, which go regularly to Glasgow, Inverary and many of the lochs, to several of the different islands, and to Belfast and Liverpool. This new power will change the face of Nature in many parts of the High-

## Dugald Stewart

lands. Places at the distance (by land) of perhaps a hundred miles, and hardly accessible before, are now become the residences of Glasgow merchants, who visit them every week or fortnight during the summer.

From Glasgow I went to Mr. Dugald Stewart, who resides at Kinneil, near Linlithgow, a curious old house strikingly situated near the Firth of Forth. It belongs to the Duke of Hamilton, and is one of the most ancient possessions of the family. I passed two days very agreeably and instructively with Mr. and Mrs. Stewart and their daughter. He had just finished the second part of his introduction to the Encyclopedia, and was in excellent health and spirits, and, indeed, in high "Whiggism." He was very kind, frank, and communicative; and as he has lived in intimacy with some of the most considerable Scotch *literati* of the last age—Dr. Robertson, Adam Smith, and Ferguson—you may suppose that my time was passed very pleasantly.

From thence I went to Edinburgh, where I could stay only three days, during which I went over into Fife, to Mr. Ferguson, of Raith, a delightful and most hospitable house. Whilst I was there I heard the famous preacher Dr. Chalmers, who happened to be at the neighbouring town of Kirkcaldy, the birthplace of Adam Smith, and his residence when he wrote the "Wealth of Nations."

Dr. Chalmers did not satisfy my expectations. He has considerable powers, but is exaggerated in manner and matter. He preaches the high Calvinistic doctrines, and is, of course, deficient in good sense,

## Lord Liverpool

and probably also in good faith. I greatly doubt his sincerity. But he is an excellent parish priest at Glasgow, very active and judicious in all matters relating to the poor, and he probably considers these violent doctrines as being most popular and efficient.

I returned from Edinburgh by the great North road, making a slight *détour* by Melrose and Kelso, along the banks of the Tweed, where I saw Abbotsford, Walter Scott's place, which has nothing remarkable in a beautiful country.

The Queen's trial is going on very heavily ; but it is not certain yet whether it will be carried against her in the House of Lords. Lord Byron has sent Murray a tragedy reported to be very fine, called " Marino Falieri, Doge of Venice."

Nov. 11, 1820.

Up to yesterday I could have given you no decided opinion as to the ultimate fate of the Bill.<sup>1</sup> It was generally thought that the Ministers would carry the measure (if possible) through both Houses ; and they have shown themselves so regardless of public opinion during these proceedings and on several occasions, that it seemed probable that they would make the attempt. The conduct of Lord Liverpool yesterday, however obvious and proper, was a great surprise to most of his friends, and the Chancellor amongst others called out, " Not content." It is now said that he had determined to withdraw the Bill if the majority should be under fifteen. Lord Liverpool has lost character with all parties. He has

<sup>1</sup> For the Queen's divorce.

## Lord Liverpool

certainly given great offence to the Court, and it is reported to-day that he is to retire from office, and that the rest are to go on with the assistance of Peel and some of the Grenvilles. No other kind of change is even surmised, and I believe that this report is entirely without foundation. In the present state of affairs Lord Liverpool is very necessary to his colleagues, and after nearly thirty years passed in administration, office is very necessary to Lord Liverpool.

Mrs. Graham<sup>1</sup> left London nearly a fortnight ago for Portsmouth. Lord Melville some time since promised Captain Graham the first ship that should be put in commission, but has lately told him he sees no prospect of sending out any ship of war. Now, however, he may perhaps have some chance; for it is reported that as the Ministers cannot accommodate His Majesty by a Bill of *Degradation*, they will gratify him by sending a small fleet of observation to the Mediterranean, to keep Naples in check and to forward the views of the Holy Alliance in Italy.

I saw Warburton yesterday. He is much interested about an experiment lately made at Copenhagen, tending to show a connection between electricity and magnetism. The paper was read at the Royal Society on Thursday last, but Warburton was unable to attend. It is a most interesting subject, and may lead to very important discoveries.<sup>2</sup>

I have just seen Lord Lansdowne, who is to go to

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards the wife of Sir A. Callcott.

<sup>2</sup> "On the Magnetic Phenomena Produced by Electricity," a letter from Sir H. Davy to Dr. Wollaston, read at the Royal Society on Nov. 16, 1820.



## Lord Liverpool

Bowood on Monday or Tuesday. He and Lord Grey have principally distinguished themselves in the late proceedings, and have materially contributed to the failure of the Bill. The speeches on the other side were very inferior; the Chancellor was thought quite feeble, and Lord Liverpool was very unfair, and, contrary to his usual manner, greatly overstated the facts of the case. Lord Lauderdale was much more ingenious and acute, but he pressed everything into the cause with the indiscriminate vehemence of an eager and unskilful advocate.

Murray says that, in consequence of the Queen's affair being disposed of, he can now venture to publish. He will shortly produce "Marino Faliero," Lord Byron's tragedy, the third and fourth cantos of "Don Juan," and Horace Walpole's "Memoirs of the Reigns of George II. and III." He expects a very good book from Captain Parry, with whom, I suppose, you are well acquainted.<sup>1</sup>

*Nov. 18th.*

I hear at a distance many political rumours, but have not the slightest expectation of any political change. Lord Liverpool has certainly lost character with the public, but he retains great parliamentary strength, quite sufficient to enable him to carry on the Government; and we shall see everything go on much as usual during the next Session.

Though I sincerely partake of your joy on account

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Parry, Arctic explorer, returned from his first expedition in October, 1820. His journal of "A Voyage for the Discovery of the North-West Passage" came out in 1821.

## The Queen

of the failure of the Bill, I imagine that we differ somewhat respecting the personal character of the Queen, which I have never highly valued. I think, at the same time, that her guilt was by no means judicially proved, and should have pronounced her "not guilty" upon the evidence; but the generality of the higher classes seem to be against her on this point. The affair of the Polacre, and the testimony of the two lieutenants (her own witnesses) have produced a great impression against, and one may apply to the Queen and her counsel the French proverb, taken from Molière, "*Que diable allez vous faire dans cette galère ?*"

I have little doubt that some attempts will be made to reduce the Queen's establishment, or to stigmatise her in some way, upon the verdict found by the House of Lords. It is said that many of the Tory county gentlemen, and several of the "Saints," will join in the project; but much will depend on the state of public opinion two months hence.

The bishops, unquestionably (as you observe), have suffered both in and out of the House. Lord Eldon was very angry with them for the bad figure they made on the divorce clause, and said to another peer (during his passion), "You, my Lord, are a reformer; I am not, but I sincerely wish you could get those fellows," pointing at the bishops, "out of the House. They do nothing but disgrace us."

I am glad you like "Julia," which is very clever and lively. You know probably, that it is written by Luttrell.

## Canning

*Dec. 21st.*

Mr. Canning's resignation is a considerable political event, and seems to show that the Ministers are determined to persevere in their system of hostility against the Queen. It is doubted, however, whether Huskisson and his other friends will follow him out of office ; and it is certain that he will not himself go into opposition. Probably he will assist them on great emergencies not connected with the Queen's case ; and perhaps there may be some understanding with regard to his return to office at a convenient period. It is said that the measure upon which the continuance of the present Ministers is to be tried is the restoration of the Queen to the Liturgy. If they are beat on this question, it is understood they will certainly retire ; such at least is the language of several of their friends.

*Bowood, Dec. 24, 1820.*

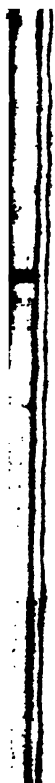
We arrived at Bowood yesterday, after a very agreeable journey, about a quarter of an hour after Miss Edgeworth's departure. I was much mortified to miss her, as well as my friend Hallam, who also left Bowood yesterday. It would give me great pleasure to find Miss Edgeworth at Easton Grey, but I much fear that she will have left you before Thursday, the day on which I propose being with you. I am sorry that the young Romillys cannot avail themselves of your kind invitation. I shall be under the necessity of returning from Easton Grey to Bowood, having engaged to escort Mary Fox,<sup>1</sup> Lord

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Lady Lilford.



Bowood.  
*From Britton's " Beauties of England " (Wiltshire).*

*To face p. 228.*



## Bowood

Holland's surviving daughter (who has been some time at Bowood), to London.

We have just heard that Peel is to succeed Canning, as was expected.

## CHAPTER IX

1821

Wilberforce—Fox—Poem by Southey—Grampound Bill—Politics—Cambridge—Tierney—The Catholic Disabilities Bill—Mr. Coutts's will—"Marino Falieri"—Death of Napoleon—The Coronation—Epigrams of Lord Byron—Death of the Queen—"The Pirate."

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*Jan. 20, 1821.*

I HAVE only time to thank you for your letter, and to express to you how much I was pleased to hear of your having an opportunity of meeting Mr. Wilberforce, who, besides being one of the extraordinary men of the age, is very cheerful and pleasant, and gifted with extraordinary liveliness and great powers of conversation. He seems not to have been naturally intended for a "Saint"; his character inclines much more naturally to the courtier or man of the world. I apprehend you overrate his goodwill to the Whigs, to whom he has never been really favourable. Mr. Fox's quotation that you speak of was very happy. It was made an occasion of a very indignant attack

## Lines by Southey

of Perceval. But you do not mention the two best lines—

“Lenit albescens animos capillus litium et rixæ cupidos protervæ ;  
Non ego hoc ferrem,” &c.<sup>1</sup>

The county meetings have been remarkably successful ; but I still think that the Ministers will maintain their ground. I remember telling you some years ago, when you expected a change favourable to the Whigs, that I should almost as soon look for a Revolution ; and my opinion is not much altered since that time.

I send you a good-natured recommendation of an Alpine guide, by Southey, which will amuse you if you have not seen it:—

“By troth this John Roth  
Is an excellent guide,  
A joker, a smoker,  
And a *savant* beside.  
A geologistian,  
A metaphysician,  
Who searches how causes proceed ;  
A system inventor,  
An experimenter,  
Who raises potatoes from seed.

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<sup>1</sup> On April 23, 1804, when Spencer Perceval was Attorney-General in the Addington Administration, Mr. Fox brought forward a motion on the defence of the country, which was supported by Pitt and his friends. In the debate Perceval made a severe attack on the union of these two statesmen, which Fox warmly resented. In the course of his observations he applied to Perceval the expression of Dr. Johnson—“Pray, sir, consider what your praise is before you apply it so liberally.”



## “The Grampound Bill”

Each forest and fell  
He knoweth full well,  
The châteaux and dwellers therein;  
The mountains and fountains,  
The ices, the prices,  
Every town, every village and inn.  
Take him for your guide,  
He has often been tried,  
And will always be useful when needed,  
In fair or foul weather  
You'll be merry together,  
And shake hands at parting as we did.”

*Feb. 13, 1821.*

I am going the latter end of this week to Cambridge for two days, partly to see John Romilly (the second son), and partly to fix Ralph Abercromby<sup>1</sup> at Peter House. I hope that Mr. Kennedy will accompany me; we are to call on Malthus on our way.

*Feb. 13, 1821.*

Lord J. Russell carried his Grampound<sup>2</sup> Bill in

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards second Lord Dunfermline.

<sup>2</sup> A corrupt borough which was disfranchised. This borough, with its handful of sixty electors, became notorious after the General Election of 1818. Wholesale corruption had prevailed through the bribery exercised by Sir Manasseh Lopez, one of the leading borough-mongers in the West of England. He was convicted of bribery in both Cornwall and Devon, and sentenced to a heavy fine as well as to imprisonment at Exeter. Lord John Russell brought the circumstances before the House of Commons on May 11, 1819, and the affairs of the borough came in that Parliament (1818-20) and in its successor of 1820-26 frequently before the members of both Houses of Parliament. Ultimately the borough was disfranchised, and its two members transferred, after 1826, to the county of York. Down to 1832 “Grampound alone, of all the English boroughs, could boast that it had been disfranchised” (W. P. Courtney, “Parliamentary Representation of Cornwall to 1832,” pp. 183-205).

## The Opposition

favour of Leeds last night in the House of Commons ; but it will assuredly be thrown out by the Lords. Ward spoke very well on this question, and was, rather unexpectedly, on the side of Reform. The number of good speeches has been considerable this Session, and they have all been on the side of the Opposition. Such, however, is the state of Parliament that Canning is no longer wanted by Ministers. Even Lord Castlereagh might be spared, and the House of Commons might be led by Bragge<sup>1</sup> and Vansittart.

CAMBRIDGE, *Feb.* 19, 1821.

The place is crowded with students, and altogether much improved. Downing College and the Fitz-

<sup>1</sup> This person is the same Bragge of whom Canning wrote in his "Ode to the Doctor." In 1803 Addington had promoted his brother, Hiley Addington, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Charles Bragge, to the rank of Privy Councillors. He had named one Paymaster of the Forces and the other Treasurer of the Navy ; on the other hand, they were expected to strain their lungs in his defence. Canning's ode contained these lines :—

"When the faltering periods lag,  
Or his yawning audience flag ;  
When his speeches hobble vilely,  
Or the House receives them drily,  
Cheer, oh, cheer him, brother Bragge !  
Cheer, oh, cheer him, brother Hiley !  
Each a gentleman at large,  
Lodged and fed at public charge,  
Paying with a grace to charm ye,  
This the fleet, and that the army.  
Brother Bragge and brother Hiley,  
Cheer him when he speaks so vilely ;  
Cheer him when his audience flag,  
Brother Hiley, brother Bragge."

(Stanhope's "Life of Pitt," vol. iv. p. 59.)

## Mackintosh

william collection of pictures and engravings are a very great addition.

The Cambridge Whigs (those few that remain) partake with you in your disappointment on the late Parliamentary divisions. They expected, not indeed that the Ministers would be outvoted, but that the minorities would be strong and formidable. The late motions have shown that, when the safety of an Administration is concerned, the influence of public opinion is still less over the Commons than the Lords. The minorities could not number more than ten persons on any of the late questions who were not regular voters with the Opposition; and Wilberforce's speech, on Mr. J. Smith's motion, does not appear to have influenced a single vote.<sup>1</sup> These events have opened the eyes of many persons to the necessity of Parliamentary Reform who were before very incredulous as to the abject and servile state of the House of Commons; and the Whigs, for the present, seem to be cordially united with the people.

It is some consolation that the Whigs have distinguished themselves so greatly on the present occasion. Never were speeches or arguments more triumphant. Mackintosh, in particular, has been most successful, and has shown powers of regular debate which he was not supposed to possess. He is expected to make a great display on Wednesday upon the important question of Naples.

Tierney has spoken very well, but is declining in

<sup>1</sup> Mr. John Smith, M.P. for Midhurst, brought forward a motion for restoring the Queen's name to the Liturgy. It was rejected by 298 votes to 178.

## Politics

vigour. His health is quite unequal to these late nights. What will be the final result it is impossible to say ; but many events must take place before there can be any change of Ministry. At present we seem to be much nearer a censorship of the Press than a reform of Parliament. The affair of the Queen may perhaps subside ; the new discontents must be expected to arise, and the country will continue to be in an irritable and dangerous state till some material change takes place.

*March 2nd.*

The Session of Parliament promises to be more interesting than was expected. The country gentlemen are plucking up courage, and have shown themselves in great force upon the salt tax and the Lords of the Admiralty. They are so much delighted with this display of their strength that they will probably attempt greater things. But their movements, which in former times would have overthrown any Administration, will have no effect on the present state of things. The Ministry will quietly give up their two Lords of the Admiralty, and perhaps a portion of the salt tax, and will afterwards go on as before, making any other sacrifices that may be required, except their places. Mr. Coutts's will is very extraordinary ; but there is a surmise that the children by his first wife are illegitimate, being born before marriage—a fact which would have come into question in settling the amount of tax on their legacies. Some persons also say there is a doubt respecting the validity of Burdett's marriage, having been by licence, Lady Burdett being under age, and there being no consent

## Lord Byron

of a legitimate father or guardian. Of this I can say nothing certain. The case would be a very unfortunate one, and very disgraceful to our laws. Yet an Act for putting an end to grievances of this description was rejected a year or two ago through the influence of Sir Walter Scott.

*April 14th.*

The Catholic Bill will most probably be thrown out by a majority of about twenty, consisting, it may be hoped, entirely of bishops. The Grampound Bill will probably pass (with modifications), as it is likely to be supported by Lord Liverpool, though the Chancellor is entirely against it.

*April 16th.*

I have not yet seen "Rome in the Nineteenth Century," but hear a good account of the book from several good judges. I believe it is written by a Scotch lady, Miss Mackenzie, a daughter of the late Lord Seaforth, who was talked of as being likely to marry the sculptor Thorwaldsen. You must probably have seen or heard of her, as she was rather a conspicuous character at Rome.

Lord Byron's letter to Bowles is a very singular performance; but I hear that Bowles kisses the rod, and has written to Murray, requesting him to present his kind compliments, with many thanks, for what has been said of his manners, of which he acknowledges that his lordship has spoken "with more urbanity than he (Bowles) has been accustomed to." With regard to those particulars that form the main subject of the letter, he seems to give way in several points, and to admit that Lord B. is right. I suppose that

## Death of Napoleon

we shall have much of this servility of spirit, for Bowles intends to publish an answer.<sup>1</sup>

The tragedy of "Marino Falieri" is to appear in a few days. Those who have read it (among whom are Lord and Lady Holland) speak of the work very highly. They think it, however, quite unfit for the stage. Lord Byron says that he publishes it to convince his friends of their error in supposing that he is capable of writing a good tragedy.

*April 28th.*

The King has shown every kind of marked attention to Lord Lansdowne at Brighton, having made parties for them, and confined his conversation exclusively to *him*. Such are the artifices of Courts!

*July 17, 1820.*

Buonaparte's death is a great historical event. Notwithstanding what is said of the soundness of the liver, I have considerable doubts of the fact, and am afraid it will be said that he died of confinement and of the climate of St. Helena.

We have had cold, rainy weather for the greater part of the week. The influence of St. Swithin is not unlikely to be felt at the time of the Coronation. The preparations in the Abbey are in a very forward state.

<sup>1</sup> W. L. Bowles, divine, poet, and antiquary, issued in ten volumes his edition and sketch of the life of Pope. It was written in a hostile spirit, with many severe strictures on his character and poetry. These errors drew upon the biographer stinging assaults from Byron, both in verse and prose, and gave rise to a long controversy, in which much bitterness was displayed. (See "Dictionary of National Biography.")

## The Coronation

I went to see them this morning with Mrs. Abercromby and Ralph, and obtained a complete idea of the nature of the ceremonial. I never saw the Abbey appear to so much advantage.

*July 28, 1821.*

The Coronation went off very well, so far as related to the highest classes, but was very coldly received by the public at large; and it was found impossible to get up a general illumination. The King showed marked favour to the Opposition, and is in a state of constant quarrelling with his Ministers. But I do not see how any material change can take place. His Majesty has been formally reconciled to Lady Jersey who was received with the most marked distinction at the Drawing-room.

I send you two extempore epigrams of Lord Byron though it is more probable than not that you have already seen them.

On Mr. Hobhouse's election :—

“Would you enter the House by the true gate,  
More quickly than ever Whig Charlie went?  
Let Parliament send you to Newgate,  
And Newgate will send you to Parliament.”

On the failure of his tragedy and the recovery of his mother-in-law from a dangerous illness :—

“Alas! how miserable is my lot;  
My play is damned, and Lady Noel *not*.”

*Aug., 1821.*

The poor Queen has closed a wretched, uncomfortable life with great fortitude and resignation.

## Death of the Queen

Notwithstanding the courage with which she faced her enemies, she had for a long time been very unhappy, and seems to have been altogether indifferent to existence. She was, however, very cheerful throughout her last illness, as well as kind and attentive towards those domestics and friends by whom she was surrounded. Dr. Holland, who was with her, says that her character never appeared to so much advantage, and that he never witnessed so much feeling and gentleness united with so much courage upon any similar occasion. She certainly possessed several good qualities, and the seeds of some great ones. Had she been properly treated she might have adorned her station. As it was, she owed her principal claim to the public support to her misfortunes and the persecution which she experienced.

Her death is a political event, and will probably open a new field for intrigues. The King will immediately think of marrying, and the Court will be completely occupied by schemes for procuring him a young and handsome Queen, which, according to the usual good fortune of the Tories, will probably turn to the advantage of the Ministers and enable them to recover their lost favour.

The intense loyalty, or rather servility, of the Irish nation, might furnish a good pretext and opportunity for establishing a new Government, on the principle of completely emancipating Ireland. But the firmness necessary for such a change is altogether wanting. His Majesty's present servants will not again commit the error of resigning, but will compromise differences, and yield to nothing short of actual dismissal.



## "The Pirate"

*Aug. 28, 1821.*

London is a perfect solitude; not a single family of my acquaintance is left. The Carrs, who were the last lingerers, went a few days ago to Cromer, in Norfolk. You may have heard of Miss Carr's marriage to Dr. Lushington,<sup>1</sup> the day after the Queen's death. She is of the party of Brunswick, and is called the "Mourning Bride." It is singular that Dr. Lushington was never before on the Continent, though of an active turn, and a great lover of fine scenery. I have strongly advised them to return through Holland.

*Bowood, Dec. 26th.*

We have received Scott's new novel of "The Pirate," which we have begun to read in the family circle (Lord Lansdowne and I) with very good success. Lord Byron's tragedies had been attempted, but they did not get beyond the first act of "Cain."

*Dec. 28th.*

We are engaged in reading "The Pirate" in the evenings, and have got through the first volume with great success. We are much pleased with everything except an old Sybil, who is a mere copy of *Meg Merrilies*, and much less natural and probable.

I have an odd request on the part of Macdonnell

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Lushington (1782-1873) was in Parliament for many years and an ardent Reformer. Was one of the counsel for Queen Caroline. He married Sarah, eldest daughter of William Carr, of Frognal. The Carrs were friends of Sir Walter Scott and Mrs. Barbauld. Mrs. Lushington was "her peculiar favourite." ("Life of Mrs. Barbauld, by A. L. le Breton.")

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Macdonnell, of Christ Church, gained the Oxford prize for the best English essay, the subject of which was "The

## Bowood

and myself, which must be addressed to Mrs. Smith. It is, that you will keep your hospitality till the arrival of the Abercrombys within reasonable limits, and give us as little as possible for dinner, reserving your energies for breakfast and tea. We have been too long among the "fleshpots of Egypt," and wish for some repose.

**Influence of the Drama."** He won the Chancellor's Latin verse prize in 1815, and the Newdigate verse prize in 1816, on the heroes of Lysippus ; was the son of James Macdonnell, of Belfast. Was called to the Bar in 1824, and became Resident Commissioner of Education in Ireland in 1839 till 1871. Was made Privy Councillor for Ireland in 1846, and created Baronet 1872. He died in Dublin, 1875.

## CHAPTER X

1822

Nassau Senior—"Nigel"—"Italy"—Politics—Miss Edgeworth—  
Miss Aikin—Mr. Coke's marriage—Duel in Scotland—The  
Edgeworths—Excursion to Bury—Ickworth—Crabbe—Politics  
—Ricardo.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mr. Smith.*

*Feb. 5, 1822.*

THE review of Scott's novels is by a forward, clever young man from Oxford, named Senior,<sup>1</sup> a fellow of Magdalen, and a law pupil some little time since of Duckworth. He also reviewed the Agricultural Report in the preceding number.

Walter Scott has another novel in the press called "Nigel," written to illustrate the manners of the seventeenth century. The scene, I believe, is laid in Scotland; and the story has some connection with that of Heriot, the goldsmith of James I., who founded Heriot's Hospital at Edinburgh.

An anonymous poem in blank verse of the Lake

<sup>1</sup> Nassau Senior, political economist, author of the Report on the Poor Law, 1834.

## Parliament

school, entitled "Italy," is just published, which is generally attributed to Rogers. It would not otherwise have much circulation, for it has little interest, though it contains some agreeable passages.

*Feb. 16.*

Parliament has been very active since its commencement, but I cannot commend its measures. The violent Acts called for by Lord Wellesley give me no great hopes as to his Administration; and it would not surprise me if he was to turn out, after all, a vulgar and commonplace Lord Lieutenant.

His conduct in India was on many occasions very arbitrary, and I am glad of what was said on this subject by Lord Folkestone and Dr. Lushington. Lord Londonderry's speech last night did not satisfy the country gentlemen; but we shall see in a few days whether they will force the Ministers to stronger measures. Ricardo is considered as too much of a theorist; and though I agree with him in all his general principles, I am sorry that he thinks it necessary to promulgate them in Parliament, as they afford a good handle to the enemies of economy and retrenchment.

Miss Edgeworth, I believe still lingers at Lady Elizabeth Whitbread's. I am sorry she does not take lodgings: which, as she has received £600 for her "History of Little Frank," one would think she might afford to do. Miss Aikin's book on the reign of James the First is very successful, and deservedly so. It is praised by Lady Holland and Mackintosh.

## Ricardo

Feb. 26, 1822.

The character of the present Session of Parliament, if it was ever in the smallest degree doubtful, is decided by the late divisions. The country gentlemen are entirely with the Ministers, who may exercise an uncontrolled sway, subject to no restraint but their own discretion. Much blame is cast on Ricardo, who, though he voted with the Opposition, is considered as having spoken in favour of Ministers, by countenancing their principles and opinions. I think, indeed, that, considering the audience whom he addressed, he spoke too much as a theorist, and in a manner likely to be misrepresented. But though his speeches may have served as pretexts, I cannot think that they operated as the true motives of many votes. Mackintosh, however, represented the number thus influenced, or professing to be so, as nearly forty, but they were all willing to be satisfied with the measures of Government, and would have found good reasons for being so if Ricardo had never opened his lips.

Mr. Coke's absurd marriage to Lady Anne Keppel, fifty years younger than himself, is the general topic of conversation. He had suggested to his nephew, whom he had for many years considered and treated as his heir, the propriety of paying his addresses to this lady, but the young man declined, or at least hesitated; till, hearing that his refusal might lead to serious consequences, he hastened to London to make his proposals, but received for answer that the lady was already engaged to his uncle.

The marriage takes place to-day; and the parties were to *walk* in procession to St. James' Church.

## Canning's Motion

Mr. Coutts is said to have died worth near a million and a half, and to have left nearly the whole to his widow.

March 30, 1822.

The town is occupied by a duel in Scotland between Mr. Stuart, a zealous Whig, and Sir Alex. Boswell, the son of Dr. Johnson's biographer, in which the latter was mortally wounded. It was occasioned by various libels which have appeared in the Scotch journals (the *Beacon* and *Centinel*) which have been established on the model of *John Bull*. Sir Alex., who was a great Tory and had an unfortunate talent for lampooning, wrote very much in those journals, and is supposed to have contributed, when in London last year, very largely to *John Bull*.

It is certain that he was well received at the Pavilion, and was made a baronet at the Coronation. He had libelled so many people that, after the late detection, he could not possibly escape a duel. Lord Archibald Hamilton and Lord Duncan, who had been much calumniated in the Scotch papers, had determined to challenge him; and Lord Duncan was actually on his way to Scotland for the purpose.

Canning's<sup>1</sup> notice of motion was a great surprise upon the House, and most of all on his late colleagues.

<sup>1</sup> Canning was again Foreign Secretary. On the 29th he moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the Act of Charles II. debarring Roman Catholic Peers from exercising their right of sitting and voting in the House of Lords.

Plunkett said that he had not been able to make up his mind on the subject. When pressed by Tierney on this important subject, he repeated that "he was not yet able to bring his mind to any definite conclusion."

## The Edgeworths

Plunkett made a wretched figure, and has lost character greatly by his conduct since his acceptance of office. Lord Wellesley, too, seems unlikely to be a gainer.

*April 17, 1822.*

On my return from the country, I found to my great surprise that the Edgeworths, who were to have remained in London till the end of this month, had taken a sudden flight in consequence of the death at Edgeworthstown of one of the Mrs. Sneyds. It is said that they will go immediately to Ireland, after a few days' visit to Lady Elizabeth Whitbread, and that they have given up their journey through Scotland and their visit to Sir Walter Scott.

This intelligence surprised me, and I can hardly think the alleged reason the true one, considering that Mrs. Sneyd had been ill several months, and that her death had been expected for some time. Perhaps their curiosity was exhausted, or London was found too expensive. I feel some regret that I have not seen something more of them; for though I am not conscious that any efforts have been wanting on my part, yet the fact is, that I have only met them at Sir James Mackintosh's in large parties, and never once seen them alone. When we met we were always on good terms; and I hope *they* are satisfied. It was my intention on my return from the country, to make some further endeavours, though probably to little purpose. Their time was engrossed by visits and sights, and their friendship was expanded like leaf gold over a prodigious surface. A popular author, however, must be considered in some degree

## Ickworth

as a public character, and allowances ought to be made for the temptations incident on such a situation.

*April 20, 1822.*

I told you I would send some little account of my Easter excursion; which, notwithstanding the unfavourable weather, sufficiently answered its purpose of health and relaxation. At Bury I passed two days, and was happy to find the boys<sup>1</sup> going on well, Edward in particular, who was an invalid, seems to be better in health and spirits than I have known him for many months. Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy were with me and extremely pleased with all they saw. This was highly satisfactory, the more so as Mr. K., who was educated at Harrow, well knows what English schools are.

Whilst we were at Bury we went to see Ickworth, a large house built by the late Lord Bristol, the founder of Down Hill (I believe it is called), on the coast of Antrim, which I recollect your seeing in Ireland. The ground plot of the house is oval, and is of prodigious height; and though little more than a shell, it has cost with the chimneypieces, bas-reliefs, and other ornaments from Italy (many of which are in packages unopened), upwards of £50,000. I conclude that it will never be finished.

At Southwold, on the Suffolk coast, I saw a brother of Crabbe, the poet, a respectable and intelligent painter and glazier, who confirmed to me several of the particulars I had heard of his brother's

<sup>1</sup> Sir Samuel Romilly's sons.



## The Edgeworths

early life. I was gratified by viewing some of the scenes, which Crabbe has described so beautifully, and which he has made so interesting by his admirable Dutch painting. Suffolk is very monotonous, and generally bare of trees, but the agriculture is excellent, the cottages good, and the villages often very beautiful. I was pleased with Harwich and Colchester, and with much of the country between those two towns. I remember Madame de Staël, who landed at Harwich from Sweden, describing it with great raptures.

I hear that the Edgeworths, who are still at Lady Elizabeth Whitbread's, have again *suddenly* and, as Lord Londonderry says, "upon the crane neck principle," altered their plans and determined to stay a month longer in London.

I have not seen Ricardo's pamphlet,<sup>1</sup> but hear a good account of it from Warburton and the adepts. He did not send me a copy, as he had done of his former works, considering me perhaps as a heretic.

*April 27, 1822.*

Lord Lansdowne and Macdonald may be expected about the middle of the week. I have heard no particulars, but have every reason to believe that the journey has answered well for both parties, and Lord Lansdowne is perfectly satisfied with his travelling companion. There can be no doubt that if Lord L. should come into power, he would make it an object to provide in some measure for our friend, by placing him in some respectable or useful situation. But I

<sup>1</sup> On "Protection to Agriculture."



MARIA EDGEWORTH  
from a sketch made Dec. 28, 1838  
by Miss Kedham, née Boranquet.

*The original is in the possession of Mr. Ogilby, Inverquharitz, Richmond, Tasmania.*

*To face p. 248.*



## The Edgeworths

have long considered Lord Lansdowne forming a part of any Administration as an event hardly *possible*, especially since the increasing ascendancy of Peel, who is destined to be our future Governor.

The Edgeworths have returned from Lady Elizabeth Whitbread, and are afloat again, in full sail, down "the tide of human existence." I have not seen them but hear from them continually. One day they are at the Westminster Abbey (which, by the way, having been cleared for the Coronation, is well worth seeing), then at the London Docks, and then at St. Paul's, with Cockerell, the architect, to explain the structure and plan of the building. Mrs. Lushington (the Doctor's lady), who often sees them, tells me that they pass thirteen or fourteen hours of the twenty-four in visiting and sights!

I have not yet read Ricardo's pamphlet, but hear it much praised. The ministerialists, in particular, are much pleased with his doctrines, evidently because he says little against taxation.

[The correspondence with Mr. Smith here ends, as his death occurred in June, 1822. After Mr. Smith's death the letters diminish in numbers, and are written only at long intervals to Mrs. Smith.]

## CHAPTER XI

1824 to 1833

*From Mr. Whishaw to Mrs. Smith.*

Tour of "Fashionables" in America — Death of the Emperor Alexander — Failures of banks — *Edinburgh Review* — Lord John Russell — Calne election — State of the country — Reform — Lord Althorp — Death of Lady Spencer — House of Lords and Reform — The Reform Bill and the King — Sir J. Mackintosh — Factories Commission.

*Nov. 27, 1824.*

YOU must have read some time since in the papers of a few young "Fashionables," Mr. Stanley (Lord Derby's grandson), Messrs. Wortley and Denison, ministerial members, and Labouchere, a nephew of Mr. Baring, having sailed for New York with the intention of making a tour of the United States. The scheme was thought very wild, and much disapproved of by the West End of the town ; and disappointment and disgust were universally predicted. You will be glad to hear, however, that Macdonald has received letters from two of them, who are his particular friends, expressing their great satisfaction with all they have seen, and their deter-

## Sydney Smith

mination to extend their plan by staying till May next. In the meantime they purpose to visit Kentucky and the banks of the Ohio, to see Carolina and the Slave States, and to pass some time in the spring at Washington during the sitting of Congress. It is a very interesting tour, and very creditable to those who have undertaken it, and in its results we may hope it will tend to improve the tone of national feeling with regard to America.

*Jan. 7, 1826.*

The death of the Emperor Alexander has made a great change in the state of Europe. It has happily deprived the Holy Alliance of its leader, but, on the other hand, we must expect hostile preparations and a serious interruption of that general tranquillity which has prevailed for the last ten years.

The last failures of town and country banks, the melancholy effect of over-trading and speculation, and of a bad banking system, form a strange exception to our general prosperity. I hope you have not suffered from this calamity, the effect of which has been so widely extended.

*May 6, 1826.*

You will be pleased to hear that our friend Sydney Smith is now at Paris, for the first time, on a visit to Lord and Lady Holland. He had only seen some parts of the interior of France before, and that many years ago, for a short time. He writes to his friends that the name "Paris" is only an abbreviation of "Paradise," and that he is exceedingly gratified by all that he sees, hears, and *eats*.

## Calne Election, 1826

If you have seen the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, you must have been entertained by the articles on "Waterton's Wanderings" and "Granby," which are written by Sydney Smith. There is another article much talked of on the "London University," by young Macaulay,<sup>1</sup> the son of Wilberforce's friend. It is very spirited and able, but violent and exaggerated, and little calculated to serve the cause it espouses.

I called on the Hobhouses yesterday. They have Mr. and Mrs. Spencer with them, and seem all of them tolerably well. You must have heard of John Hobhouse's Parliamentary success this year. I allude particularly to his speech on Lord John Russell's motion,<sup>2</sup> which is considered as one of the most spirited and effective of the present Session, and has given him a new rank and station in Parliament.

*June 10, 1826.*

You will be sorry to hear that there has been a great disturbance at Calne. Mr. Abercromby and Mr. Macdonald, the old members, found on their arrival that nine out of the seventeen electors were unfavourable to them; but in consequence of the difficulty of finding candidates the dissentients gave way, and all seems quiet for the present. The election is on Monday, and there seems no doubt that the former members will be elected. Indeed, all parties were agreed as to their merits and good

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Lord Macaulay.

<sup>2</sup> This motion for the suppression of bribery at elections was entrusted to Lord Althorp, as Lord John had lost his seat and was not in Parliament.

## State of the Country, 1830

political conduct. The objection to them was, as nominees of Lord Lansdowne, from whom they wish to emancipate themselves. I do not know what course Lord L. will pursue. He bore the blow, though quite unexpected, with great good-humour, though he was suffering under a severe fit of the gout, which confined him some days to his bed.

I am engaged, as usual, in the politics of the Cambridge University election, which will be very strongly contested. All candidates are ministerial; but Lord Palmerston, as the only one favourable to the Catholics, is strongly supported by the Whigs. By their assistance he will make, I trust, a good appearance on the poll, but the event is very doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

*Dec. 23, 1830.*

Mr. Mallet, who has heard of you through our Malmesbury friend Mr. Thomas, gives me a good account of your health, but I was very sorry to hear of the disturbances having extended to your neighbourhood, and of the visits that have been made to Easton Grey. I hope that you have not suffered in your property, and that tranquillity is restored in Wiltshire for the present. The state of the country, indeed, is very alarming; and it is no subject of congratulation to our friends that they have been admitted into office in such times. They are surrounded with difficulties, and after Christmas will have to encounter a very formidable Opposition; so that, though they have the King favourable, or

<sup>1</sup> He was opposed by Goulburn, but was returned after a keen contest.



## Lord Grey's Government

at least disposed to act fairly, it is doubtful whether they can retain office long enough to do much good. Objections may be made to some of the arrangements, but all circumstances considered, it is one of the best Governments this country has ever seen.<sup>1</sup> We must hope for the best. All proper offers were made to Lord Holland and Lord Lansdowne, but they declined any active employment on the score of health. Lord L. had at one time accepted the Foreign Office, but female influence prevailed, and after twenty-four hours' consideration he declined it. We may lament, but cannot blame his decision. I know that Lady Lansdowne strongly deprecated his taking office, and have often heard her say that the few months during which he was Secretary of State in 1827 were the most anxious and unpleasant she had ever passed.

*Feb. 2, 1831.*

I am much obliged to you for your kind letter, giving me a tolerably good account of yourself, for I had been apprehensive that your health might have suffered from the disturbed state of the country. All such alarms are now happily abated, and gradually subsiding. The Special Commissions appear to have done their duty, and I hope you will think that the Government has acted wisely and properly in complying, to a certain extent, with the humane wishes of the public, and tempering justice with mercy. Their task in this, as in every other respect, has been very difficult, but they have still greater diffi-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Grey was now the head of a Ministry composed of Whigs and Canningites.

## Reform

culties to encounter. To-morrow they are again to meet Parliament, and in a very short time to produce their plans of Reform in the representation; as also in the administration of justice, especially in the Court of Chancery. The former will be brought forward by Lord Althorp, the latter by Lord Brougham, who, calling the best assistance to his power, has devoted the whole of his time since he became Chancellor, consistent with his other duties, in framing and digesting an excellent plan of regulations for his Court. He will, I trust, carry into effect in a few months those improvements which had been vainly expected from his predecessors, Lords Eldon and Lyndhurst, the former of whom held the seals a quarter of a century, and the latter near four years!

I hope that these things will have weight with a House of Commons naturally averse to the present Ministers and their measures, but who cannot fail to be influenced by their own fears, the feelings of the public, and the spirit of the times. By the aid of these motives, operating on the independent part of the House, I trust that our friends will prevail over a teasing and insidious opposition on the part of Mr. Peel and his adherents, which they will encounter at every step of their proceedings. It is most satisfactory to know that their plans of reform have had no dissentient voice in the Cabinet, and that upon being laid before the King a few days since at Brighton, they received his entire approbation.

## Reform

*June 10, 1831.*

The time for assembling the new Parliament (the most interesting since the Revolution of 1688) is advancing rapidly. Everything favourable may be expected from the House of Commons, but there will be great difficulty with the Lords, in which there is a very numerous and determined Opposition embodied and arrayed, not only against the Bill, but against every important measure of the present Government.

The sudden death of Lady Spencer<sup>1</sup> has spread a great gloom over Whig society. She was intimately connected with the Lansdownes, Abercrombys, and other of our friends. Her high rank, combined with considerable talents and acquirements, and great energy and determination of character, made her an important person in society, and her loss will be much felt.

*Nov. 7, 1831.*

I have been somewhat remiss in not apprising you sooner of my return home, where I have now been settled for some time. You will be glad to hear that my Continental expedition answered, as usual, perfectly well. I experienced no difficulties, I saw much that was new and interesting, revived many old recollections, and returned home with a good stock of health and spirits.

At Paris I remained only a few days. It was a time of tumults, occasioned by the surrender of Warsaw, which were speedily put down. I went to the Chamber of Deputies, and was well satisfied with

<sup>1</sup> Lavinia, eldest daughter of Charles Bingham, Earl of Lucan.

## The Reform Bill

what I witnessed there. They are improving in the arts of debate ; and all will be well if they preserve peace, and obtain a reasonable and settled Government. The intelligent Frenchmen whom I saw, consider these objects as mainly depending on the stability of the English Administration, and the success of their measures of Reform, which excites almost as much interest in France as it does in England.

Upon this subject I need not tell you how much I was grieved and mortified, though not at all surprised, by the decision of the House of Lords.<sup>1</sup> What will happen on the next discussion of this all-important question it is impossible to conjecture. All is doubt and uncertainty, and I see no ground for entertaining great hopes. The Opposition, who seemed at first to be stunned by their victory, seem now to have recovered their spirits, and to be determined, notwithstanding Bristol, to fight out to the last.

*May 28, 1832.*

I congratulate you on being relieved from the long and painful state of political suspense, or rather, despair, in which the country has been lately involved. The Ministers, the House of Commons, and the country have all of them done their duty ; and we may look forward to a speedy and triumphant passing of the Reform Bills with great confidence. We have certainly been on the brink of a precipice : and after what has passed, we may perhaps experience some trouble yet.

<sup>1</sup> On the 8th of October the House of Lords had thrown out the Reform Bill by a majority of 41.

## Sir James Mackintosh

The Reform Bill may be considered safe, but not authors.

They will be very narrowly watched by the Co intriguers ; and an opportunity may be taken in so unguarded moment, and when the people are longer excited (after the Reform Bills have been carried) to dismiss the Whigs and re-establish Tory Government. It will be a rash and hazardous experiment, but the Court party are very capable of trying it. One cannot but be sorry for the poor King, who I really believe, though deficient in firmness, has good and honest intentions, but who is surrounded by able and active intriguers, and who is personally alienated to a considerable degree from the Whigs. It is fortunate that he remains constant to them for so long ; and again I must say we must hope for the best.

You will be glad to hear that most of our friends are well ; but, alas ! there is one great exception poor Sir James Mackintosh, who now lies dangerously ill, and indeed past all hope. His health has been declining for some time past, and he has been unable to attend Parliament ; but it was not till a few days ago that he was attacked by a mortal illness. This will be a great public and private loss, upon which a great deal might be said, but the subject is too painful for me to enlarge upon at present.

*April 27, 1833*

You have probably seen in the newspapers that a Commission has been issued for inquiry into the treatment of children in the factories. My friend

## The Factories Commission

Leonard Horner is one of the Commissioners, and as he is to take the Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire districts, I have given him an introduction to you, and have desired that he will not fail to take some opportunity of paying a visit to Easton Grey. The visit, I am sure, will be equally interesting and agreeable to both parties.

I do not know if you have heard of a windfall to Lord Lansdowne, by the death of his brother's widow, of her jointure of £3,000 a year. You will be sorry to hear that the ministerial prospects are not favourable. The vote of last night for reducing the malt tax must embarrass our friends very much, and perhaps may lead to a change of Government, certainly to a property tax.

## CHAPTER XII

1833 to 1835

Grote and the Bank Charter—Society at Lansdowne and Holland Houses—Miss Aikin's Book—The Irish Church Temporalities Bill—Lord Grey—The Factory Bill—Politics—Corporations—The Government — Archbishop Whately — Swedenborg—Scarlett—Lines of Walter Scott.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Charles and Henry Romilly.*

*April 23, 1833.*

GROTE acted a very manly part in opposing the Bank of England last night,<sup>1</sup> which, as a banker, must have been contrary to his wishes and interests. Abercromby considers him as the only rising man of that party, and one of the most rising in the whole House. I conjecture that Edward voted with him and John in the majority. The

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Attwood, M.P. for Whitehaven, brought forward a motion for a committee to inquire into the state of general distress—how far the same had been occasioned by the operation of our present monetary system. Lord Althorp moved an amendment, and Mr. Grote rose immediately to second it. In the division that the words proposed by Mr. Attwood should stand, Grote, John Romilly, and Edward Romilly all voted with the *noes* in the majority.

## Lansdowne House

Bentham school, with Ricardo and Mill, are lovers of cheap currency, and in my opinion too favourable to paper.

*June, 1833.*

On Friday I dined at Lansdowne House, where I met Malthus, Mr. Fazackerly, and the youngest Villiers<sup>1</sup> (an evident aspirant for Ministerial favours) and Dr. Holland. The conversation turned chiefly upon the scientific gala to be held at Cambridge next week, which it is generally thought will be overdone, and made too elaborate and expensive. In addition to philosophical papers and lectures, there are to be great dinners in the College halls, besides breakfasts, and evening parties, concerts, &c. I have been urged to go, but considering the doubtful nature of the entertainment, the certain heat and bustle, and the probable *ennui*, I have steadily declined to be of the party. In the evening I talked with Lord Lansdowne about politics, and could see that he was very anxious respecting the conduct of the Tory Lords. On Saturday I went to Holland House and met a small but agreeable party. Lord Carlisle and his youngest son, Lord Duncannon,<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Woolryche, formerly an army physician, afterwards medical attendant to the Duke of Bedford, and lately colleague of Leonard Horner, as one of the Factory

<sup>1</sup> Right Hon. Charles Villiers.

<sup>2</sup> John William Ponsonby, Lord Duncannon, afterwards 4th Earl of Bessborough, *b.* 1781, *d.* 1847, M.P. for Kilkenny, 1826–1831; acted as Chief Whip of the Whig party. In 1830 helped to prepare the Reform Bill. Was called to the House of Lords as Lord Duncannon, 1834; retired from office when Peel became Prime Minister. Was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1844–46.



## Holland House

Commissioners. He is a pleasing, sensible man, and gave a most satisfactory account of the state of the manufactures at Birmingham, and in the clothing district of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Gloucestershire, and of the judicious and humane treatment of the children. He is quite clear that any attempt at legislating on the subject would be very mischievous.

Sunday morning was very wet, but the weather cleared up, and I had enjoyment of the garden, which was fresh, fragrant, and delicious. At dinner we had a splendid party, Lord and Lady Grey, the Chancellor,<sup>1</sup> Duke of Richmond, Lord John Russell, Lord and Lady Stafford, Lady Coventry and Miss Fox, John Murray of Edinburgh, and Admiral Adam.<sup>2</sup> All went off very well, and the talk was of indifferent and insignificant subjects. Politics were a good deal avoided, but it was clear that they were uneasy about the prospect of the debate in the Lords this evening, in which they expect to be beaten.

Altogether I found my visit very agreeable—more so, indeed, than I quite expected; but these occasional glimpses of high political and fashionable life are pleasant and interesting to one in my humble situation.

There was one drawback to my pleasure, the finding poor Lady Holland much altered in her looks, and I fear certainly ill, but thinking herself much worse than she is. Lord Holland, except the infirmity of his limbs, I never saw better, or more active or entertaining.

I have received from my friend, Miss Aikin, her

<sup>1</sup> Brougham.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Adam.

## Church Temporalities Bill

new book, "The Memoirs of Charles I.," in two pretty thick volumes. From what I have seen, I expect it to be very successful, but I will give you my opinion hereafter.

*Tuesday, July 16, 1833.*

At this critical period it will be interesting to you to know that the aspect of public affairs has changed in some degree ever since you left London. The Tories, it is understood, have taken fright. They have ascertained that the Irish Church Bill is deemed of greater importance by the public (at least as a beginning of ecclesiastical reform) than they supposed, that the House of Commons would stand by the present Ministers, and that a dissolution of Parliament, if it would diminish the Whig Members, would increase the Radicals in a much greater proportion. Such is the opinion of a certain number of the Conservative Lords, who are afraid of going to extremities, and it seems to be settled that they will suffer the Bill to be read a second time. Strong words will be used in the Committee, and attempts will be made, with some success, to mangle and mutilate the principal provisions, but the probability is at present that, in some shape or other, the Bill will finally pass. So far all is well, but now comes the unfortunate part of the story. The Ministers, who had encouraged Sir John Wrottesley to move for a call of the House, desert him when he makes his motion, giving way to the suggestion of Peel that the Peers ought not to be menaced; and by this act of political cowardice, amounting almost to treachery, they disgust many

## Church Temporalities Bill

of their friends and the great body of Liberals, who had determined, somewhat reluctantly, to give them their support. It was a true sequel to their giving up the 147th clause. The consequence was that several of their most respectable adherents, Abercromby, Lord Ebrington, Lord Duncannon (a Minister), and others, thought themselves bound as men of honour to support Wrottesley in his motion, and voted with the minority. In this was Kennedy<sup>1</sup> whom I saw at Abercromby's after the vote.

I have had no opportunity of seeing people this morning, but have no doubt that the general impression is very unfavourable to Ministers.

Of those members whom I saw last night, Abercromby was the most indignant, and with good reason, for he had taken great pains to conciliate the Liberals, and to induce them to join in a resolution favourable to the present Government in the event of the Irish Church Bill being thrown out.<sup>2</sup> In that case he (Abercromby) had undertaken to make the motion, which was to have been seconded

<sup>1</sup> Right Hon. T. Kennedy, of Dalquhharran.

<sup>2</sup> The Bill was the "Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill," which Earl Grey moved the second reading of on July 17, 1833. It was read a second time on July 19th and carried by 157 votes to 98 votes.

Sir John Wrottesley on July 15th brought forward a motion for a call of the House of Commons on July 18th. It was defeated by 125 votes to 160, Abercromby, Lords Duncannon and Ebrington, Kennedy, Lieut.-Col. Grey and Sir G. Grey, and C. Tennyson voting in the minority.

The 147th clause in the "Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill," which placed the surplus fund at the disposal of Parliament, was struck out by 280 votes to 149 (June 21, 1833).

## Church Temporalities Bill

by Grote. But under the present circumstance he seems to have determined against giving them any support, and has signified as much to Lord Althorp. Knowing what we do of the opinion entertained of the former backslidings of the Ministers by Abercromby, and the Radicals, one cannot be surprised at the sacrifice of opinion, which they were prepared to make (and, as I think, very properly) to defeat a Tory Administration. But in proportion to the intended sacrifice must be their present resentment.

On the whole, however, it seems as if the Ministers may not improbably maintain a frail and tottering existence; but if they survive till the next session, they will meet a formidable and probably fatal Opposition.

*Friday, July 19, 1833.*

You will be glad to hear that the little storm of which I told you in my last note is almost entirely blown over; and the Ministers appear to be reinstated in their former position. Such are the changes and chances of political life! The members of the Government are so much at cross purposes with each other that Lord Grey openly disapproves of what was done by Lords Althorp and Stanley on Monday evening, and praises Lord Duncannon, Kennedy, &c., for voting against them. Of course, therefore, any tender of resignation<sup>1</sup> is entirely out of the question. It is to be observed that his lordship's son, Charles Grey, voted in the minority.

There seems to be no doubt that the Irish Church

<sup>1</sup> Of Lord Duncannon and Kennedy.

## Lord Grey

Bill will obtain a second reading in the Lords, and will probably pass without any material alteration in the Committee. The Tories are happily frightened and divided among themselves; and the present Ministers will owe their continuance in office not to their own skill or popularity, but to the dissensions of their opponents. There seems, indeed, good reason to believe that the latter, upon mustering their forces, find it impracticable, as they did last year, to form a Government that has any chance of standing. Peel, their best hand, keeps quite aloof from them, and is the object of their violent abuse. There are, indeed, vague rumours of negotiation between him and the present Cabinet for a junction; but so many difficulties stand in the way of such an arrangement that I cannot yet give it any credit. It is more probable (what is asserted by some) that the Administration will be remodelled after the present Session, and that Lord Grey will be succeeded by Lord Brougham as Premier. Of this I can say nothing. There are obvious reasons for the retirement of Lord Grey, though he has just distinguished himself by a very good speech on the Church Bill, and there is no one in the Cabinet who has sufficient vigour to supply his place, except the Chancellor. Lord Althorp might have been thought of last year; but he has been greatly damaged during the Session, and seems to be quite worn out and exhausted. Yet he has done a great deal by his good sense and spirit of conciliation; and Stanley as ministerial leader of the Commons would encounter a violent opposition. The Ministers have gained a great additional triumph last night by

## Politics

their majority on the Factory Bill,<sup>1</sup> which has exceeded their expectation, so that after having been in despair at the beginning of the week, they are now much elated, and treat the Radicals with their accustomed disdain.

*Tuesday, July 23, 1833.*

Nothing decisive has occurred in the political world since my last note to you. The storm raised by the Lords has not yet subsided; but I am inclined to think that the Ministers, with their usual good fortune, will weather it in the end. They have been far from confident, however; and when I was at Holland House two days ago, all was doubt and anxiety as to the result of the contest. The Opposition, too, have been very undecided, and have had their hot and cold fits. A certain number of them are bent upon throwing out the Bill,<sup>2</sup> and endeavouring to form a new Government at all hazards; but their zeal is happily tempered by the prudence or pusillanimity of their associates, especially Peel, who keeps aloof, and will not embark in the adventure of a Tory Administration.

There is reason to believe that the King, though not violently attached to the present Ministers, thinks it his safest policy to adhere to them, and is very averse to dissolving the Parliament, which might be the necessary consequence of the change.

I told you, I think, of the Commission for Inquiry into Corporations, in which so many of our friends

<sup>1</sup> The division on the Factories Regulations Bill was carried by Ministers by 238 votes to 93.

<sup>2</sup> The Irish Church Bill.

## Corporations

are engaged.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may have been said of the indecision and feebleness of the Government in many other of their measures, this surely is a very *radical* proceeding.

Corporations are naturally the strongholds of intolerance, corruption, and Toryism ; and the inquiries into them now intended (considering the persons by whom they are to be conducted) cannot fail of producing very important efforts. Next to the Reform Bill itself, I consider it as the most important measure of Lord Grey's Government.

*July 27, 1833.*

The newspapers will tell almost all that can be said upon politics since I last wrote to you. The Ministers have been more frightened than hurt, for they fully expected during the last fortnight to be out of office before this time. Such was the impression I received at Holland House last week, when all seemed on their part to be doubt and anxiety ; and their opinion is confirmed by Mr. Rogers, who says that they were in great alarm, and that their apprehensions were marked by increasing affability and attention to old friends !

Their danger, certainly, was much less than they imagined ; and the bystanders, as you may judge from my former notes, were more correct in their opinions. Still it must be admitted that the Ministers hold their

<sup>1</sup> The names of the Commissioners of Inquiry for England and Wales were John Blackburne, Sir Francis Palgrave, George Long, Sir Fortunatus Dwaris, S. A. Rumball, G. H. Wilkinson, T. J. Hogg, Peregrine Bingham, David Jardine, R. Whitcombe, John Elliot Drinkwater, Edward John Gambier, T. F. Ellis, James Booth, Henry Roscoe, Charles Austin, Edward Rushton, Alexander Cockburn, John Buckle, Daniel Maude ; Secretary, Joseph Parkes.

## The Duke of Wellington

offices by a most frail and precarious tenure ; and several of the late votes of the House of Commons show that there are adverse elements in that quarter, and that it is chiefly by the fear of what may be effected by the Lords that the majority of the House is kept right. There is reason also to believe that the King, though not personally attached to the present Ministers, and repenting probably of Reform, is still convinced that any material change would be dangerous, and is judiciously averse to anything which might lead to the dissolution of Parliament.

*July 31, 1833.*

The Church Bill, you see, has passed by a great majority, owing to the Duke of Wellington and his immediate followers partly withdrawing and partly voting for the Bill. The Duke seems, in fact, to hold the balance, and to possess the power of negativing any Government measure. He is expected on other occasions to rejoin the ultra Tories, and throw out some important Bills before the end of the Session. Meanwhile the Ministers continue to totter on, and seem likely to maintain a frail and feverish existence for some six or eight months longer, when, if they do not change their course, they will encounter a much more serious opposition than they have hitherto experienced.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Henry Romilly.*

*Aug. 2, 1833.*

Charles will give you our general view of politics, in which there is a great agreement between your



## Lord Grey's Administration

brothers and me. From personal feelings and ancient habits, I am perhaps more attached to the present Administration than they are; though I am not blind to the errors into which they have fallen. But their principles in the main are good, and their continuance in office for the present is essential to the tranquillity and well-being of the country. I hope you agree with me as to the importance of their late Commission of Inquiry into Municipal Corporations, and other great measures in train. It is melancholy to think that, with such measures in view, their feebleness and vacillation are such as render their existence very doubtful and precarious. I trust, however, that they may still last for some time longer.

*From Mr. Whishaw to Charles Romilly.*

*July 14, 1835.*

The party at Mr. Spring Rice's yesterday was large and miscellaneous. The Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Kerry, Sir Geo. Philips, Senior, Peacock, the tutor of Trinity, Babbage, Lieut. Drummond, Macculloch, and two or three others.

The Archbishop of Dublin (Whately) is, as you know, a singular person, with much out-of-the-way knowledge which he produces "in season and out of season," one of those whom it is always pleasant to meet. Yesterday he chose to talk about metaphysics, on which he was neither satisfactory nor amusing. Upon mention being made of Emanuel Swedenborg, the founder of the New Jerusalem sect, he observed that he was a man of some merit as a Professor of





CHARLES ROMILLY,  
FIFTH SON OF SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY.

*From a sketch by Madame Meunier-Romilly, of Geneva, now in the possession  
of Charles Romilly, Esq.*

*To face p 271*

## Archbishop Whately

some Swedish University, and composed some good philosophical treatises, and that if he had died under sixty he would never have been heard of; but that after attaining that age he became a "dreamer of dreams," and published works in his dotage so eminently nonsensical as to procure him a never-dying reputation in the Christian world.

In telling you of my interview with my old friend Scarlett<sup>1</sup> yesterday morning, and of his pleasant and affecting allusions to our intercourse of former times, I ought to have repeated a favourite passage from Scott's "Lady of the Lake," in the vision at the end (if I recollect) of the first canto:—

"Again return'd the scenes of youth,  
Of confident, undoubting truth,  
Again his soul he interchanged  
With friends whose hearts were long estranged.

They come in dim procession led  
The cold, the faithless, and the dead,  
As warm each hand, each brow as gay,  
As if they parted yesterday."

I daresay you will agree as to the merit of these lines, but their beauty cannot be fully felt except in advanced life.

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Scarlett—afterwards first Lord Abinger—had been originally a Whig, but eventually became a Tory.

## CHAPTER XIII

### VARIOUS LETTERS WRITTEN TO MR. WHISHAW BETWEEN 1806-1840

From Sir James Mackintosh, 1806, from Bombay, where he was Chief Justice (describing our rule and conquests, an "Avatar" and "Maia" and Indian theology)—From Sir James Mackintosh, 1811, on the Regency, and referring to his historical projects and Asiatic researches—From Dr. Holland, 1812, describing our army in the Peninsula—From Henry Warburton, 1814, on his Geological discoveries in Suffolk—From J. L. Mallet, 1815, on Napoleon—From Francis Horner, 1816, from Pisa, on literary subjects—From Sydney Smith, 1818, on Hone and Lord Ellenborough and Sir J. Mackintosh at Haileybury—From Sydney Smith, 1818, on Canning and an anonymous pamphlet—From Lady Mackintosh, 1828, on politics—From H. Hallam, 1828, on Murray's publishing firm, and Politics—From Hallam, on Politics—From Lady Mackintosh, 1829, from Paris, the Abbé, Grégoire, and the Bourbons—From J. L. Mallet, 1831, on Politics—From Sydney Smith—"King of Clubs."

*From Sir J. Mackintosh to Mr. Whishaw.*

PARELL, BOMBAY,

*Feb. 21, 1806.*

MY DEAR SIR,—During the two last years that have passed since we met, you are likely to have heard so often of me from our friends at the "King of Clubs," that I shall not repeat to you the

## From Sir James Mackintosh

few events which have occurred to me in that time. Neither shall I speak of the great and terrible news from Ulm and Cadiz, which is fresh to me at present, but which must be so obsolete before this reaches you. When I say obsolete, I mean if the apparent destruction of Austria be not even at that time too terribly felt in England to suffer the memory of these dreadful calamities to grow faint.

India is at length pacified by a compromise between the system of Lord Wellesley, to which the present Governor is inclined, and that of Lord Cornwallis, which he durst not totally reject. The Province of Bengal, Oude, Agra, Guzerat, and part of Delhi, with the whole Peninsula from Cape Cormorin to the Tapti and the frontiers of Berar, are directly or indirectly subject to England. The country between the Chumbal and the Tapti with the Rajpoot Principalities is left as a theatre for the ambition and turbulence of Scindia and Holkar. The Nayar Princes in Malabar and the Polygar Chiefs in the Southern Carnatic have at length been suppressed, though I fear not without great perfidy and atrocity. The Sikhs, the Rajpoots, and the two Mahratta chieftains are the only independent powers in India and without concert, seaports, or European officers they neither are nor can be formidable. India does not seem to me to contain any source of danger to the British authority. You can easily guess my opinion of the *means* by which this vast Empire has been acquired. I have been very desirous to know its *effects*, and perhaps you will not be displeased to hear the result of my inquiries, which have been extensive,

though my own opportunity for observation has been confined to one journey to Poona. There seems no reason to doubt that this revolution has been everywhere beneficial to the body of the people, and has bestowed on them a degree of security to which they and their ancestors in their most boasted days were strangers. Prejudice against foreigners and conquerors of different colour, manners, and religion, do, notwithstanding, render our Government generally unpopular. It seems, indeed, that many Indians prefer the occasional power of oppressing, even though attended with the chance of being oppressed, to the inflexible impartiality of equal government which covers them with a constant shield, but imposes on them a constant curb. They have been so long accustomed to favour and resentment that they have a disrelish for cold, unbending rules. Long experience has taught the people of Bengal to feel the value of security. The British Government is popular in that great Province. Justice is administered and revenue collected often not within a hundred miles of a soldier. The same thing may be said of this island, where we have perhaps a dozen Hindoo and Parsee merchants of fortunes from one to two hundred thousand pounds. That they have made some progress you will also allow when I tell you that several of them say they would purchase and cultivate estates in the rich and beautiful, though now almost deserted, island of Salsette, if it were subject to the Recorder's Court, where no man *can do what he pleases*, but that they did not wish to risk their money under a Governor who might change his measures as he thought fit. I have said that our

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Government is beneficial to the *body of the people*. To the higher classes, to all those who are candidates for power and greatness, it is intolerable. With the exception of the few degraded offices at the Courts of the tributary Princes, the lottery of ambition is shut against them. One able and versatile Brahmin, who has successively served Hyder, Tippoo, and our Raja, administers Mysore, it is said, with great success, though not, I believe, without some instances of severity very repugnant to European usages.

You must not infer from what I have said that our Government, especially in distant countries or new conquests, is what you or I would call *good*. I only mean that it is far superior to any Asiatic Government. In many of the countries of India *any* European authority is a blessing. The Mahratta country, for instance, which I lately visited, was a scene of such constant rapine and civil war, that any change which controlled the freebooting chiefs must be beneficial. I saw too clearly the marks of general misrule and the ravages of the recent civil war and famine. Almost all the villages were laid waste chiefly by Holkar, who is the most perfect model of a Mahratta warrior; and even at the distance of fifteen months, skeletons scattered pretty profusely over the fields showed how dreadful the devastation and famine had been among a people who hold in such extraordinary reverence the rites of sepulture.

I must say that I also saw some of the good effects of the control for the first time established among these plunderers. The plains round Poona, which were appropriated and constantly employed as the



encampment of the several chiefs of the Empire, which for a century were a scene of almost daily bloodshed, have at last been restored to the plough, and I saw the first corn that perhaps for hundreds of years had grown upon them.

I may as well tell you of two personages whom I saw in my journey, a *martial Brahmin*, and an *Incarnate God*.

The first, a chief of the name of Goda, who came to pay his respects to me, was one of the sternest and most ferocious-looking barbarians I ever saw. He was fully armed, mounted on a fierce Candahar horse, and had a deep scar across his brow from a dangerous wound which he had received in battle about two years ago. His conversation corresponded with his appearance. He told me that he hated to live in cities, and loved the life of the field, where alone either honour or profit was to be got. He has about 3,000 horse, not in his pay (for they are supported by pillage), but under his command. This gentleman does not well correspond with the European ideas of a Brahmin. Of the Incarnate God at Chinchore you must have read in the seventh volume of "Asiatic Researches." The present incumbent is a handsome child of eight or nine years old, who could scarce be kept awake to converse with us. The benefice is a rich one. The pagoda in which he resides is endowed with lands of which the rents amount to 50,000 rupees (or £6,000) a year, which remain like a fertile spot in a desert, having been spared by Holkar when he spread desolation all around. He is an Avatar, or incarnation of Gunnesh (the same deity

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whom Sir W. Jones labours to identify with Janus). The incarnation has continued for eight generations in the family, and is itself the eighth of the Avatars of Gunnes. A pundit of some learning is employed in teaching Sanscrit and theology to the young God. I asked what the event of the war in Europe would be. The pundit on the part of the Deo, or God, answered that the question required consideration. I asked how a god came to need consideration. The pundit seemed to feel the difficulty, and defended his master as well as most Doctors of Divinity. He said that an image of the sun in a vessel of water would be shaken as often as you shook the vessel, but the sun was unshaken and immovable. In like manner the Deity when incarnate was necessarily affected by the imperfections of the vehicle. Knowing the almost unanimous opinion of the pundits when they speak esoterically to be that neither gods nor men, nor indeed anything else material or spiritual, has real existence, that all is *Maia*, or illusion, the effect of the action of Brimh, the vast one, on himself (whom they call God, but by whom they mean only to express an infinite energy which produces the infinite variety of illusive appearances which give a fallacious notion of separate existence, and make up what is called the universe). I ventured to ask the pundit in the temple in the presence of his god, and what was more material of a crowd of votaries, whether the Deo as well as every one else was not *Maia*. He immediately and without the least hesitation answered that he was. Gunnes and the other gods, even Bramah, Vishnu, and Siva, were, he said, acknowledged and

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revered in theology, but in philosophy they must be owned to be mere Maia. I suppose that this may be the first time that ever a priest made such a confession in such circumstances. But the pundits never dissemble this opinion, though my friend at Chinchore seemed at first a little astonished at an European talking of his secret and philosophical doctrines. I intended to have given you a short specimen of the morality and public feeling of our English Indians, by an abridged account of a trial for peculation which I have lately had here. But Sir Edward Pellew, who convoys our Indiamen down the coast of Malabar, is so resolutely determined on sailing to-morrow morning that I must refer you for this politico-juridical history to my letter to G. Wilson. You will then see a whole settlement so interested in an old rogue of notorious and long-stigmatised character, who with an office of which the fair, or at least the allowed, profits were £10,000 a year, had received bribes for the clandestine exportation of grain during the famine, as to raise the most illiberal and blackguard clamour against me, for having merely done my duty in preventing the escape of so scandalous a delinquent.

And now, my dear Sir, I am obliged hastily to conclude, but not without humbly requesting that you will refresh me sometimes by the reason, knowledge, and liberality of your letters, which I should estimate anywhere as they deserve, but which I shall indeed value in this vile place. Mention me kindly to the "King of Clubs" and to all its members; remember me to Scarlett and Creevey. I should be obliged by

• 4. 1. 2. 3. 4.



UorM

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.

*From an engraving by Ridley, after Opie.*

## From Sir James Mackintosh

your conveying my best respects and congratulations on his marriage to Lord King, whose most excellent pamphlet I have read twice since I have been here, where we suffer under the same malady, of a fallen exchange from excessive issue of paper money. I could not read it without thinking at least, if not exclaiming, "Di Patrii quorum semper sub numine Troja," &c.

Lady M. begs her best remembrances to you.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very truly and respectfully

Your faithful friend,

JAMES MACKINTOSH.

*From Sir James Mackintosh to Mr. Whishaw.*

BOMBAY, Aug. 13, 1811.

MY DEAR WHISHAW,—I have always considerable apprehension that my language may not be thought at a sufficient distance from hyperbole when I write to a person of your vigilant good sense. I need all the force of such a restraint to moderate the expression of my gratitude to you for your attention to Lady Mackintosh. As she went home for me such attention was the most delicate sort of kindness to me. To tell you the truth, I thought this sentiment joined to her merit would have procured more attention and from more people than it seems to have done. My obligation to you is so much the greater.

Your excellent letter in October would itself have been a sufficient reason for thanks. Your calm views of literature and politics are peculiarly adapted to satisfy a distant observer. Mere remoteness exempts

us from those passions which it requires all the soundness of your sense to escape. This country is a school of Toryism. The tendency of the system of government gives slavish principles and habits to men of naturally active understanding and high spirit whose character was destined for liberty.

Your letters are the only compositions which, though always at war with their prejudices, I have observed to compel their approbation if not their assent.

I should like to have had a *precis* of the discussion and intrigues occasioned by the Regency from such a pen as yours. Of the intrigues I, of course, know nothing. The general question of legal metaphysics seems to be shortly this—whether there be a right to be Regent by legal analogy in the next heir, or whether a right by necessity to create a Regent devolved on the remaining members of the supreme power? At first sight there seems to be some distinction. But it vanishes almost at the next glance, for it is admitted that the two houses were morally bound to nominate the next heir. If that duty had been imposed by his superior merit, it would only have amounted to a conscientious exercise of an elective right. But this is not pretended, they are bound to nominate the next heir as such; that is, they nominate him because there is a parity of expediency and an analogy of law between hereditary Regency and hereditary Monarchy. Then the question is, whether the analogy is so strong as to justify the decision of a court of law, or only so strong as to be a motive for an exercise of a discretionary power. But the partisans of the two Houses allow that their right can only be exerted in one way

## From Sir James Mackintosh

in all ordinary cases, and the partisans of the heir admit that there are extraordinary cases in which he may be excluded from the Regency as well as from the Monarchy.

The question in this form and with these reciprocal admissions must be left to the decision of some legal Aquinas. Yet stripped of all the exaggerations of passion and eloquence to this it seems to be reduced.

The project of limitations, the avowed existence of a Government without a King for three months, the strange discovery of Royal power exercised in his name without a power of consent, and the general suspicion that will now attend the King during his life, are all circumstances that will one day powerfully act against Monarchy. That day, indeed, we shall never see. Military despotism will be the prevalent system of our times.

But the time will come when this combination of circumstances, but especially the anecdotes of the state of George III. during Lord Eldon's reign in 1804, will have a great effect in dispelling monarchical illusions. Hereditary Monarchy is an absurdity established to prevent inconvenience. As such I approve it and think it necessary in the present state of Europe. But the seat of the throne is in the imagination and feelings of men. These anecdotes are little spoken of at present, but the next time the current sets towards democracy they will be valuable materials for the Tom Paine of the day.

There are no facts in history that tend so palpably and personally to destroy all reverence for Royalty. When Kings are said to do without understanding,



nations will begin to think that they can do without Kings. Lord Eldon and Perceval will thus obtain a name in history of which they have otherwise so little chance.

The Regency from which I anticipate these effects has retarded my return to England, and may do so for a few months longer.

If the Regency continue for any time either the Ministers must slide into the Prince's confidence, or the pledge of such a publicly proclaimed distrust with the daily irritation of a forced intercourse, must widen the breach and render it utterly irreparable.

I should not think the former event impossible, but if the latter takes place it will throw the Prince more completely into the hands of the Opposition than any other combination of circumstances, and render them more certainly and permanently his Ministers on his accession than if they had been in power during the Regency. If I rightly recollect, the Princess Charlotte will be of age at eighteen. It will, therefore, be of considerable and perhaps lasting consequence whether the King lives for these three years in which time the Prince may die. The system of her reign may be decided by the hands into which she first falls.

I speculate pretty dispassionately on these contingencies. I see no chance that I shall be tempted to quit my own plans of studious retirement. My project is the history of Great Britain from the English Revolution of 1688 to the French Revolution of 1789. I hope that it may be contained in three quartos. The first from the Revolution to the Accession.<sup>1</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> Of George the First.

## From Sir James Mackintosh

is a very great subject, the establishment of a free Government in England completed by the Accession and the security of the liberties of Europe imperfectly obtained by the Peace of Utrecht. When the character of King William is delivered from misconception, and that of Lord Somers displayed in its proper lustre, these noble objects will appear to be pursued by able counsels at home and glorious undertakings abroad, with disappointment and vicissitude enough to exercise and prove the fortitude of the great statesmen and captains who are the heroes of this action. The second volume will extend from the Accession to the Treaty of Paris in 1763, and will represent the quiet and prosperous administration of that free Government closing with the brilliant war of Lord Chatham, and clouded just at the end by a second Peace of Utrecht. The third is a struggle between the principles of all established authority and the rising spirit of the age, terminated by all the preparations for the tremendous contest which occupied the next twenty years.

The histories of North America, of Ireland, and of British India are scarcely *episodes*. Such sketches of the great events of Continental history as an English reader requires appear indispensable to render the history of England interesting.

Whether I shall be able to combine the outline of events which alone remains in the memory of posterity with the occasional particularity which makes description interesting, how far I may succeed in weaving into one narrative the distant and dissimilar transactions of a modern State which the form of



scious to express such fears, for what are the apprehensions that I do not possess the genius, and shall not be placed among the historians whose works will continue to be read in a distant age. Without these qualities of the class I may write a book that may serve for a popular history, and after it ceases to be useful to the public may be useful to the historian.

I have some advantages of a secondary kind. My understanding has been chiefly employed on subjects relating on history. The Government and genealogy of England have been my principal study for many years. All the studies of my life have been preparations for such a work. All the fragments of my undertakings will be materials for it. An active life ought to mix active life with business. I have been in colonial establishments and the manners of the most dissimilar to those of Europe. My knowledge has been a little directed to the theory of land war. I have reflected on commerce and industry. I at least know enough of these subjects to be able to say what the masters of each art have taught in a manner as to be intelligible to the general reader. I may be more or less misplaced in history. I may be

## From Sir James Mackintosh

conduct, or even characterise general sentiment and display the condition of a people. I know a little of the manner in which foreigners regard English transactions, and I can avail myself of those materials of European history which are contained in the principal languages of Europe, and which have been unknown or neglected by former English writers.

These are some of my substitutes for historical genius. The plan will require the whole of my life. A situation which would add a little to my income and yet leave me some leisure would undoubtedly be most desirable.

But I expect nothing. I must live either near enough to London for access to books on which my demand will be immense, or in London, notwithstanding the expense, for the sake of my children's education.

On the choice I should wish to be much guided by you.

I need not say how anxious I shall be to see the papers of Aston in my scene. The Marlborough or Spencer families or both must have most curious papers of the great Duke and of the two Sunderlands. I do not quite believe the common story of the perfidy of Sunderland the father. His character requires to be explained. Lord Hardwicke must still have unpublished paper, some, perhaps, of Lord Somers, but certainly many of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. The collection of the Grenville family are unquestionably large. Would there be any possibility of access to that of Lord Chatham? Who has those of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham? Have Lord Stanhope

and Lord Harrington any? I dare not at present hint at any more modern.

It would be the greatest of all favours if you would do what you can before I return towards ascertaining what papers exist and what might be accessible to me.

Besides my own plans I have little novelty to show you from India. In the eleventh volume of "Asiatic Researches" the true source of the Ganges seems to be ascertained. Several hundred miles of an imaginary course are obliterated. I read the paper with pleasure, not only as ascertaining an important position, but as an additional blow to the credit of Hindoo legends and monks. Colebrooke who is the Sanscrit Porson, is shortly going home and leaves the throne vacant. Leyden<sup>2</sup> has a most unparalleled talent for classifying languages which he daresay he abuses. He has no minute, perhaps accurate, knowledge of any language, for which some exact students charge him with imposture without considering that this minute knowledge would be an impediment to the success of his plan. He takes a glance at the general features of a language that may class it according to its family likeness. Linnæus did not study comparative anatomy like Cuvier and Home.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Henry Thomas Colebrooke*, 1765-1837, was the first great Sanskrit scholar in Europe. His essay on the "Vedas" was the first authentic amount of those ancient Scriptures.

<sup>2</sup> *John Leyden*, 1775-1811, celebrated Eastern linguist, settled Calcutta in 1806. Accompanied Lord Minto to Java as interpreter and wrote grammars of and translations from Malay and many other languages.

<sup>3</sup> *Sir Everard Home*.

## From Sir James Mackintosh

Mr. Elphinstone (brother of Lord Elphinstone), now Resident at Poonah, has been employed on a mission to the King of Cabul which will add much to our knowledge of the globe and of mankind. He did not penetrate beyond Peishawer, but he collected much information. His survey extends with more or less accuracy from 24 to 40 N.L. and from 60 to 78 E.L., or, in other words, from the mouth of the Indus to the sources of the Jaxartes<sup>1</sup> and from a line drawn along the western frontier of Chinese Toorkestaun and the eastern frontier of the Punjaub to Persian Khorassan and the desert separating Ballochistan and Segestan from Persia. He was attended by two uncommon men, Lieutenant Macartney, who constructed his map, and who to the manners of a wild Irishman adds a sagacity in conjecturing bearings and distances which Danville would have noticed with approbation, and Lieutenant Irving a Scotch "Feelowzoofer" who came to India to philosophise on manners, and who has drawn up a physical survey and philosophical statement of the characters of the tribes of this vast country to which I know nothing equal but Volney.<sup>2</sup>

Elphinstone<sup>3</sup> will publish all this if the hyper-Chinese jealousy of the Court of Leadenhall Street does not strangle it. My friend and neighbour, General

<sup>1</sup> Now known as the Sir-Daria.

<sup>2</sup> *Volney*, Comte Constantin, 1757-1820—French scholar and traveller—author of "*Recherches nouvelles sur l'histoire ancienne*" and other works.

<sup>3</sup> *Mountstewart Elphinstone*, 1779-1859—Indian administrator and traveller—author of "*History of India*," and other works.

Malcolm, will also publish a very entertaining book of Persia, and fill up the chasm between Elphinstone and the Tigris. I do all I can to keep him from less and fabulous nonsense, and as he is a very judicious and acute man, I have no doubt of his success in painting manners and relating the untold particulars of Persian history. His materials for Persian geography, both from the actual survey of European officers and the innumerable routes of native travellers, surpass anything before brought to Europe, at least since the time of Chardin.<sup>1</sup>

I take the liberty of enclosing a Bombay newspaper which contains (what I hoped at the time would be) my farewell charge to my grand jury, in which I will see the result of a seven years' administration without a capital punishment. I offer it as my experiment. It proves that no immediate mischief has arisen, that the experiment may, therefore, with safety be more and more enlarged till at length it may afford some great result to be used in a better age.

You may use the charge in any manner you please. Perhaps the fact may interest Romilly, or may be thought worth publication in some magazine.

Remember me with great kindness and esteem to Scarlett and Lushington. I long very much to see you, and I am, my dear Whishaw,

Your most obliged and grateful Friend,

J. MACKINTOSH

<sup>1</sup> *Chardin, Sir John* (1643-1713), a Parisian by birth, who came to England. He travelled in Persia and wrote a valuable narrative of his discoveries. In 1681 he was knighted by Charles II.

## From Dr. Holland

*From Dr. Holland to Mr. Whishaw.*

THE MEDITERRANEAN, Aug. 12, 1812.

You see, my dear Sir, a very indefinite date for a letter, but the truth is I can give no other, as no land at present appears in sight from which to derive a name to the place where I now am writing. I may tell you, however, in the outset that I am on my passage between Gibraltar and Sicily, that the vessel on her voyage will stop a day or two at the capital of his Sardinian Majesty, and that I purpose to leave there for a conveyance to England. This, among other letters which the leisure of a voyage will enable me to write. I trust you will not consider this long delay in addressing you a breach of the promise I made when last I saw you in London. For the three months just elapsed I have been passing so rapidly from one object to another that though moments of leisure have now and then come in between, I have always been disposed to wait till the tide was completely gone by, more especially as the leisure was not always accompanied with secure means of transmitting the letter I might have written. There are two sides of some questions in Portugal as well as elsewhere, if one chooses to say a little on both, it is well to know that a letter gets into no other hands than those to which it is addressed. Having thus shortly explained to you my reasons for delay, I will mention a few of the circumstances which struck my attention while travelling through Portugal, such only, however, as I conceive may interest you from the connection with the great



contest we are at present carrying on in the Peninsula. My object, you probably know, in throwing myself so near a scene of warfare, was to see the practice of the military hospitals, from which I conceived that a great deal of practical advantage might be derived, and so in fact I have found it. Of these great establishments, I do not speak to you further than to say that they are in the highest degree creditable to the military system of the country. I have seen hospitals in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but none superior, or even equal, in their arrangement and interior economy, to some of those which I visited in Portugal; and I would particularly mention those at Santarem and Alicantes, as complete models of what such establishments ought to be, whether military or otherwise.

Of Portugal and the Portuguese at large what shall I say to you? Nature has created a fine country, and a soil teeming with riches; the progressive changes of national form and character have covered it with people, whom their own sufficiency and the courtesy of other nations have called *civilised*, but who are in truth still living in the Middle Ages, who want the energy to become great, and who, in their modes of society, their literature, and their arts, are unquestionably among the lowest in the scale of the communities of Europe. If I were called upon for an epithet, I should say that the Portuguese was a paltry character; his physiognomy is poor, with little expression but that of an ignorant self-sufficiency; his dress carries the same features with it, a slovenly tawdriness, without propriety or

## From Dr. Holland

meaning ; his conversation is insipid and ill-informed ; he crouches equally under the oppression of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny ; he is indolent in his habits both of body and of mind. I am aware of the caution that is necessary in speaking of national character, and especially when it is a stranger who speaks. I would request you, therefore, to consider the opinion just given as a very general one, and to make all the deductions from it that you think proper.

If Portugal survives the present contest she will come out of the furnace with many of her impurities done away. The monks are every day declining in number, wealth, and reputation, freedom of thought and speech are gradually extending, the aristocracy of birth is in some way giving way to that of merit, and the restoration of the military character to the nation may introduce some of those sterner virtues which nevertheless separated from their origin *are virtues* among a people.

Of the war in the Peninsula and its prospects I am at a loss how to speak to you, and it is not impossible that your judgments at home may on the whole be more accurate than the often partial ones which are formed on the spot. Even at this time you may have heard of the victory of Lord W. near Salamanca, and before you receive my letter will be acquainted with all the more immediate consequences of this event. They cannot fail to be very important at a time when the distant occupation of the French armies prevents any considerable reinforcement being given to those in Spain. From all the information I have been able to collect in Portugal, and more lately

in Gibraltar, I am induced to believe that Marmont's defeat, the actual number of the in Spain was about 120,000 men, of whom continue with Soult in Andalusia. Reduced 100,000 men, supposing this statement to be there is every reason to believe that they are a sufficient to maintain their ground over the entire Peninsula. Diminution of numbers, in fact, is a tenfold evil to them; since, beyond the injury, it has the effect of facilitating the loss of foreigners from their army, and of increasing the amount and activity of the guerilla force, composed of Germans, Poles, Swiss, and Italians as well as of Spaniards and which has comparatively little efficiency against a numerous army dispirited, and declining in numbers. Speculation, I can mention to you a fact on authority, that between the entrance of the into Andalusia and the present time, upwards of 12,000 men from the armies, chiefly German, have fled into the garrison of Gibraltar. The perseverance of Soult in the south of Spain is wonderful. Arising, it is said, from the positive orders of Napoleon, on no account to relinquish the siege of Cadiz. Every one admires his talents in meeting numerous difficulties opposed to him, the difficulty of maintaining the siege, the army of General Balisteros and the difficulty of providing his soldiers, this situation would now appear critical in the extreme; and I doubt not that when you receive this letter you will have heard

<sup>1</sup> Commander of the Spanish forces.

## From Dr. Holland

having withdrawn before Cadiz, a mortifying circumstance to the French, who have constructed works there on a vast scale, and have just attained the means of throwing their shells from distances of four miles into the very heart of the city. Even when at the mouth of the Guadiana, I listened with a sort of awe to the dull, heavy sound of their distant artillery, and near to the bay of Cadiz the report of their morning and evening bombardment became tremendous.

You will conjecture from what I say that I have hopes of the eventual success of the cause in the Peninsula. I certainly have so, and yet I can hardly persuade myself that the Spaniards deserve or that they will adequately avail themselves of the liberty which they seem not unlikely to obtain. I have not myself seen much of them, but every account I have obtained bears testimony to the general indifference they show as to the issues of the war, and speaks also of the strong dislike they frequently manifest to their English allies. I hope that recent events may make some change in this feeling, but it has certainly hitherto existed to a great extent. The Spanish regular armies are slowly recruited, badly officered, and deficient, it would seem, with the spirit and discipline of war. At Alicantes, in the centre of Portugal, I saw a brigade of their artillery which had come there without order, and for no other evident purpose than that of plundering the English commissariat stock. Balisteros is unquestionably one of the most active and independent of their generals. He has at present 12,000 troops with him in the

neighbourhood of Gibraltar, but judging from those saw, they must be in a wretched state of equipment. The guerilla bands bear only a partial testimony in favour of the native exertion of the Spaniards. They are, as I have remarked before, variously composed, and not a small part of them by deserters from the French service rendered desperate by their circumstances. The importance of the guerilla warfare, however, cannot be too highly noted, and if Spain should finally obtain good generals, and men of enlarged public talents, they will probably be drawn from this source.

As regards our own part in this extraordinary war if I were asked what circumstance I have thought of greatest importance in it, I should say, *the amount of the property tax, and the life of Lord Wellington*. Even knowing the total supernumerary expense of the Peninsular War to England, one cannot help being astonished and confounded by the magnitude of the items, as they strike the attention in passing through the country. The commissariat department, for instance, which carries provisions 2, 3, or even 400 miles, for an immense moving population of more than 50,000 people exclusive of the horses in our cavalry, and all the innumerable beasts of burden attached to the army. Nearly 1,000 boats, 10,000 mules, besides oxen and asses, are perpetually employed in that great service of transport. I do not exaggerate the fact in saying that the expenses of the muleteer establishment alone fall little short of £1,000,000 a year. If Mr. Vansittart<sup>1</sup> can keep this

<sup>1</sup> Chancellor of the Exchequer.

## From Dr. Holland

up, well and good ; I hope he can, for it is indispensable to the existence and activity of our armies in this country. Mr. Perceval, in as far as we can understand the ground of dispute between him and the Marquess of Wellesley, seemed to have had his doubts on the subject. Then with respect to Lord Wellington, the best testimony to the superiority of his talent is the general impression that were anything untoward to befall him, all must be given up. He undoubtedly is one of the most extraordinary men we have had in these our later days of history, and with certain characteristics which admirably well fit him for his present exalted but difficult situation. One remarkable quality which distinguishes him is the singleness of his decisions, and the steady resolution with which he carries his decisions into effect. Not even his generals know until the moment of action what is to be done, A division or a regiment march a hundred miles, without being aware how other divisions or regiments are employed ; they are astonished when, at a certain spot and time, the whole army is instantaneously assembled from different places and lines of march. Some generals, it is said, are offended by this perpetual reserve in their leader, but the confidence of the army at large is kept up, and every attempt at espionage rendered fruitless. This you will recognise as the feature of a great mind. Another striking fact in Lord Wellington's military character (and on that I have myself had several opportunities of knowing) is his singularly minute attention to every department in the army. He knows more of his commissariat, of his army hospitals, of his waggon train, &c., than any

person even immediately connected with these several departments, and there is no transaction relating to any one of them which does not pass more or less directly through his hands. This gives a unity and fitting in of parts which were before very little known to the British army. With these great qualities as a general, Lord Wellington is said to have the further one of a remarkably even temper, or at least to have a facility in assuming that tone of countenance and manner which suits with the occasions of the time. In short, whatever Mr. Cobbett may say, there are features about the man's character which entitle him to command, and that on a great scale. I fancy, from what I heard his friend Mr. Sydenham say (who is lately come to Portugal from Cadiz), that it is likely the Spanish Government will now entrust him with some administrative powers of a more enlarged kind.

With respect to our army as distinct from its general, it is a brave army, and a well-disciplined army, superior to the French in equipment, and in many points of military conduct. But I believe we pride ourselves too much in England on the idea that our soldiers are superior to the French in generosity of feeling, in refraining from plunder, and from the various outrages common to military campaigns. I would willingly believe, and I do believe, that our officers would not have permitted under any circumstances the dreadful work of barbarity and destruction which was not only permitted but incited and encouraged by the principal French officers during Massena's retreat. But I imagine that the common soldier is much the same in all countries and ages of the world,

## From Dr. Holland

The work of war has everywhere one object, and the lower agents in it, whatever their original national habits and feelings are in the progress of time, pretty much identified in character. That English soldiers in Portugal will plunder if they can, and that even young English officers can behave in the most uncourteous and brutal manner to the population of the country, I am reluctantly compelled to admit by the instances I have myself seen ; but at the same time I will state it as most highly to the honour of Lord Wellington, and the principal officers of the army that they assist themselves in every possible way to moderate and abridge these almost necessary evils. Lord Wellington's efforts of this kind have been great beyond measure, risking in some degree even his popularity with the army. He has deserved and obtained the gratitude of the Portuguese nation, who, I believe, are all sensible to his endeavours on their behalf.

I wish that those among our countrymen who think little of the importance of Ireland were present for a short time with our army in the Peninsula. At the time I first came to the military hospitals in Portugal, they were filled with the wounded from Badajos, and I think I do not exaggerate the matter in saying that half the whole number were Irishmen. It is, indeed, probable that the proportion in the army at large may be somewhat less considerable, but even this is a demonstration what are the troops resorted to on the most trying and desperate occasions.

I had intended to say something to you about the state of the country in Portugal, but I have not left



myself room to do this. In a few words I may say it is everywhere marked by the ravages of war. I have been at Santander, which for some months was headquarters of Massena. It is a ruined city, I have followed the track of his army in various directions; the track is marked by deserted villages, by ruined houses, by the misery of the remaining inhabitants. I have seen the sepulchres of the Portuguese kings opened by their hands and the bones scattered about. The deplorable poverty and wretchedness of the people on the frontiers is equally great. This district has so long been the scene of contest, of alternate advance and retreat, that everything in it is ruin and desolation. The difficulties of travelling through this country are very great, and I have now and then been subjected to grievances as great as any I recall to have experienced in Iceland.

An interval of a few days has expired in the writing of this letter which gives me the means of telling you that we are near Alicante, in Valencia. The day before yesterday I landed at a small village in Murcia, and amused myself by dancing fandango with the peasants, a noble race of people, open and generous in feeling, strong in limb and nerve, who merit all the admiration in contrast which Lord Byron draws between them and the Portuguese.

With respect to my future plans I can tell you little more than that I think of spending several months in rambling through Sicily. I once thought of Greece, but I believe I must give that up—*cuius homini contingit adire corinthus*. It is improbable that this letter may reach London very

## From Dr. Holland

you are absent from it, but for want of another I must necessarily use the direction to Lincoln's Inn.

How much of extraordinary event has occurred among you since I left England, and how much is still on the *tapis* ! I do hope all may end well but they are strange times in which we live.

Adieu, my dear Sir,

Ever believe me most truly yours,

HENRY HOLLAND.

1814

*From H. Warburton to Mr. Whishaw.*

WOODBIDGE, Aug. 22, 1814.

MY DEAR W.,—You will be surprised at my date and at hearing that I have not yet reached Naphilion, so much have I miscalculated my orbit. I am in the field twelve hours every day, and have met with no impediments in my journey; but flat enclosed country so conceals everything, that you want wings or the use of the divining rod to see deeper than other people. My researches began at St. Osyth from which I have coasted as far northward as Orford; and have come inland from Harwich to this place. I am going to Aldborough, Dunwich, Lowestoft, and Yarmouth, thence to Norwich, and then I must read my letters to see whether I can complete my intended excursion to Hunstanton or not. The whole country I have traversed is very uniform in the appearance of its surface and in its geological character. Hillocks of sand or gravel resting on an irregular base of blue clay, similar to that of London or Southend, compose the whole of the Eastern maritime district. Except where sand-hills form the coast, the sea is everywhere encroaching on these perishable materials, and where there is a cliff, the air is still more destructive to the blue clay, which is full of *pyritous* wood, than the water. The collecting the pyrites, that is washed out of the fallen clay for the use of the vitriol makers, affords a livelihood to some of the women and children that live on the coast. They sell it at the low price of 2d. a basket of about half a cubic foot capacity. The other

## From Henry Warburton

product of this clay is the septarium, which is burnt to make Parker's cement. The Ordnance have a very expensive apparatus with steam-engine for grinding it at Harwich. They send the cement thence to the different Government works in the kingdom. You may see the organic remains of this bed at the Society. On this coast I have not found the animals' *reliques* numerous, though I believe I have obtained some that are new.

The most curious bed of this district is the gravel which covers the blue clay, and which is no other, I believe, as to the date and manner of its formation, than that which you disregard every day in Hyde Park. In some loamy varieties of this at Walton-le-Soken, I have collected some magnificent remains of the elephant, the elk, the hippopotamus, the buffalo, and the stag. You may judge that they are found pretty abundantly, by my obtaining in one day two teeth, one tusk of the elephant, three horns of the elk, one of the stag, one of the buffalo, and two jaws of the hippopotamus. Have the goodness not to talk about this to our geological friends at present, as I have set some little pensioners to work to collect for me what they may meet with, and by which I hope to make our cabinet at the G.S.<sup>1</sup> more perfect. By the time that my present one is arranged, they will have probably found all that the beds of Walton yield, and may open the door to the public. I have found the same remains less perfect, and in fragments very numerous, in the gravel beds as far as my researches have extended north-

<sup>1</sup> Geological Society.

ward ; but after leaving Walton they are found mixed with the great beds of marine shells, which form another important feature in the gravel. The beds of shell, or crag, as they are called, extend over the whole maritime district north of Harwich, running several miles inland, and varying from ten to hundred feet in thickness. The shells are mostly broken, and are mixed with a red ferruginous sand. Fragments of the septaria of the subjacent blue clay are very common in this crag, and therefore iron probably derived from the decomposed pyrites of the clay. The crag is very extensively used in the district.

I have seen the extract from the new corn report in the newspapers, and it is very true as there stated that the state of agriculture in this district is more improved than in any other part of England. This is evident to the most careless eye. It is not, however, equal to that of the south of Scotland—*long intervallo*. The proximity of the London market by means of water carriage, and the lightness of the soil rendering labour more productive, are two principal reasons for this improvement. There is very little of the appearance of the splendid opulence of the manufacturing counties : and yet a great deal of good substantial comfort. It is not a little proof of wealth that I found myself most comfortably located in all the little public-houses in which I lodged along the coast. They have lowered the price of labour 6d. per diem in many parishes in Essex. The importations from the Dutch coast of corn, meat, and poultry have been very small, although with every facility for

## From Henry Warburton

effecting them. Beef had been imported at Harwich for 6½d. the pound, and was said to be very good, but not to be well killed or clean in its appearance for the market. I did not expect to be so long engaged in this survey, but, having begun, am desirous of completing it. I fear I may have disappointed you in your hopes of a companion, whom you must secure another time before he undertakes a fortnight's journey. I know how imprudent it is sometimes to have limited oneself to a day in these expeditions; I should have missed my elephants at Walton had I done so according to my first intention. It cost me two days to prepare the coffins for these mighty bones.

Yours,

H. W.

*From H. Warburton to Mr. Whishaw.*

18, CADOGAN PLACE,

Sept., 1814.

MY DEAR W.,—I reached Norwich on Monday evening last, where I found your three letters, which I have not answered as I returned on Tuesday morning through Bury to town; I arrived at my den last night. You will be curious to follow me from Woodbridge. I went on an etymological scent to Cretingham, in search of the boundary of the chalk; which, however, I did not find, although I discovered its rubbish. I have told you of the blue clay and the crag pit and the elephant beds which I traced in the southern part of my excursion. These were continued without much variation, with some interrup-

tions to Yarmouth. At Southwold I found an elephant grinder; and understood that after the top of the cliff, bones were numerous. Many of the shells of the crag pit north of Aldborough retain only their nacre, but also their colour. But to return to my chalk rubbish. From Cretingham to Aldborough, thence to Yarmouth, all over the country south of Norwich, and thence as far south in the interior as Braintree, in Essex, the surface is covered by the rubbish of chalk, some of the organic remains of the beds immediately below the chalk being intermixed. This rubbish about Lowestoft is nearly 100 feet thick. There is a doctrine, you know, which maintains that the earth was made like an onion with numbers of beds lying contiguous one over the other. Their continuity has been since broken, and the lower beds have thus been disclosed. With regard to this length, it is pretty clear that these beds were once much more extensive than they are at present, and I have found the rubbish of one of them. I thought on looking at the rubbish that covers the hills in Cambridgeshire, that there had been a transport from the west, and I am inclined from what I have seen in my last tour the more to believe it, as that is the direction in which the chalk is defective.

On a lower level, at a more remote period, and the bed, or nearly so, to which the elephant's bones belong, I have found, mixed with chalk, numerous fragments and boulders of primitive beds, some 100 feet in diameter. This about Lowestoft. In what direction these and the bones have come I cannot venture to conjecture.

## From H. Warburton

So much for Geology : for fear of missing what was curious, as no one could give me any information concerning the country I have traversed, I have been much longer about it than would otherwise have been necessary.

My praise of the agriculture of these counties ought to end with Woodbridge. Thence to Yarmouth I saw very little to admire, and much to blame. The neighbourhood of the little corporate towns seems to be always inferior to the rest of the country. The owners of the boroughs have, I suppose, more interest in the prevention than in the encouragement of wealth and population. Dunwich may vie with Old Sarum. In spite of its two members it scarcely yielded me a dinner of eggs and bacon. The number of voters is reduced to 24 ; a few moss-grown houses, instead of more than a hundred which it formerly contained. The sea has done much in the work of destruction, which the patrons have never wished to repair. At Yarmouth I recovered, in sight of that magnificent opulence which I had begun to forget : more visible in the suburbs than in the town, but in the town very wonderful. There are more than 250 sail of shipping in the roads, the wants of which alone would make a town. I was glad to find at Acle and at Norwich so much complaint against the steamboat, it was likely to ruin the coach trade.

For England there is a moderate appearance of wealth at Norwich. I should conceive that accident had placed the woollen trade there, and that the superior activity and power of the coal districts is causing it to decay. The Flemish refugees, you



1814

know, brought it there. I was rather surprised at the silence and little appearance of bustle in great a town. It is very possible that there may be somewhat less of a disposition to spend in display their wealth among these Anglo-Belgians. I understood that the woollen trade had improved here since the peace. Send Malthus to Long Melford and Sudbury when he praises an agricultural population except a little straw plaiting, the wants of the surrounding farmers seem alone to maintain these towns. I hardly believed that there existed such, on so great a scale so near London.

I shall call and see you to-morrow.

Yours,

H. W.

## From J. L. Mallet

*From Mr. J. L. Mallet to Mr. Whishaw.*

SLOANE STREET, Jan. 28, 1815.

MY DEAR SIR,—I return you Lord Holland's letter<sup>1</sup> with many thanks for its perusal. It is with great diffidence that one ventures to differ from so good an observer and so superior a man, but I think that the bias given to his opinions by party politics is very discernible. An impartial reader would certainly conclude upon weighing Napoleon in Lord Holland's scales, that his fall is upon the whole a loss to Europe, or at least to the countries he governed. From this conclusion I must differ.

Bonaparte's career towards absolute despotism and corrupt government was progressive, and had made rapid strides within the last five years. The people who admired him most in France acknowledge this. Lord H.'s observations might apply with propriety to the first part of his reign, when even greater credit might be given him under one head of deserved eulogium passed in silence by his lordship; namely, his having arrested the oscillations of the French Revolution, and restored France to the benefits of a stable and regular administration. But if one is to judge of the future state of France by the experience of the last years, it was far from holding out cheering expectations to the friends of good government. A system of personal devotion to the Emperor, as unprincipled in its nature as it would have proved fateful in its consequences, was rapidly gaining ground, and was encouraged by every species

<sup>1</sup> There is no trace of this letter in Mr. Whishaw's papers.

of favour. Hence the discarding of such men as Talleyrand, who were not mere tools, and the influence and authority of such a man as Count de Molé,<sup>1</sup> whose counsels were considered as having greatly contributed to Bonaparte's fall.

Every branch of administration felt every day more and more the effects of this system. How are we to explain otherwise the apathy of the French in the invasion of their territory?

Louis XIV. and Charles XII. were born in the lap of power, whereas Bonaparte selected his own course. To say that he was not so bad as Nero, and better than Charles XII., is really leaving the mind quite wide of the question.

Lord Holland takes no notice of Bonaparte's antipathy to commerce, and that great feature of his government, the prohibitory system, and the means by which it was enforced. His want of good faith in financial operation, his over-reaching maxims, were totally destructive of public credit.

Whatever good effects the Revolution might have produced with regard to education and intellectual advancement, it appears to me that the system of military education universally enforced within the last ten years was to have tended materially to check them. The sameness of the education, and the narrow policy of the Government with regard to the liberty of the Press, must have had in the course of time the worst moral and intellectual effects.

<sup>1</sup> Born 1780; died 1836. Author of "*Essais de Morale et Politique*," which attracted Napoleon's notice; in 1813 was Minister of Justice; 1836, Prime Minister of Louis Philippe.

## From J. L. Mallet

It is no great praise of any Government in France that it allowed liberty of speech. The French have always enjoyed it more or less ; and the influence of liberty of speech in checking despotism and erroneous policy is not to be compared to the influence of the Press.

Lord Holland does not stoop to inquire what would have been the consequences of the consolidation under one despotic power of the immense conquests of Bonaparte, and of the assimilation of laws, institutions, and commercial and military policy in so large an extent of country. The probable consequences of such a state of things appears to me almost to decide the question. Who would not rather have lived under any of the Governments of Europe during the last century than under the best of the Roman Emperors?

I was a little surprised at the repeated mention by Lord Holland in a manner rather unqualified of *the gratification of national glory*, as one of the advantages of Bonaparte's government. Too much stress is also laid upon public works, in a country where there are no cross-roads or canals.

Believe me ever yours,

J. L. MALLET.

1816

*From Francis Horner to Mr. Whishaw.*

PISA, Dec. 24, 1816.

MY DEAR WHISHAW,—Your writing to me was an act of great kindness, for your letter gave me much gratification.

Thank you for your attention in sending me the books you mention; our correspondent at Leghorn has received notice of some packages for us, which I hope contain those you selected. I am impatient to read Mackintosh's article<sup>1</sup>: the subject was full of topics for him, and must have given scope for his fine discrimination in the philosophy of morals and politics, as well as recalled him upon an old subject to his former copiousness of eloquence, which in his late writings he has perhaps too much restricted.

I brought Mr. Stewart's dissertation with me, and have sent it to M. Sismondi at Peschia. Tell me something about Dumont's<sup>2</sup> new works, for I suppose I have no chance of seeing them till I get back to England.

<sup>1</sup> Article in the *Edinburgh Review* for September 16th, on Dugald Stewart's "Dissertation on the Progress of Philosophy and the Revival of Letters," published 1815.

<sup>2</sup> *Etienne Dumont*, author of "Souvenirs sur Mirabeau." In 1816 he published "Tactique des Assemblies Legislatives et des Sophismes" of Jeremy Bentham. "Dumont was much more than an editor or populariser; he placed other gifts at Bentham's disposal besides a clear style and a turn for happy illustration. Out of the chaos of manuscript confided to him . . . he composed a lucid narrative. Above Dumont's literary gifts, though great, was his enthusiasm for Bentham, who was to him a law . . . his approval of his teaching was expressed in the saying, 'C'est convainquant, c'est la vérité, même, c'est presque "*Benthamique*."' " ("Dictionary of National Biography," Jeremy Bentham.)

## From Francis Horner

I must trouble you with some messages to my friends, for I have not permission to write as many letters as I should like to do. Let Hallam know, when you see him, that I received his letter; I heard of Elmsley<sup>1</sup> being at Florence when I first came here, and I begged Lord Carnarvon, who was going there, to inquire for him, but he could hear no tidings of him. He is probably gone to Rome, where I hope he will go to work in the Vatican. The Prussian Minister, Niebuhr, son of the traveller, has betaken himself to that most innocent branch of the diplomatic art, the exploring of ancient manuscripts, and he is said to have met with some encouragement to proceed in his search by the discovery of some fragments of the Orations of Cicero. That is not what one would have wished for first. It is said that no complete catalogue has ever been made of the MSS. in the Vatican; in other words, that they have never been all examined. Give my very kind remembrances both to Malthus and to Mackintosh, of whom I never think but with great regard and attachment.

For the last week I have kept the house on account of the coldness of the weather; I have, however, been rather better during this time than I have felt since I came here.

Yours, my dear Whishaw, Ever affectionately,

FRA. HORNER.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Peter Elmsley* (1773-1825), classical scholar, wrote for *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*. In 1823 he was made Principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, and Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University.

1818

*From Rev. Sydney Smith.*

SEDEGLEY, Jan. 7, 1818.

MY DEAR WHISHAW,—We have been at Philips' for about a fortnight. The company who come here are chiefly *Philippical*, as there is an immense colony of that name in these parts. They seem all good-natured worthy people, and many of them in the *Whig* line. In these days, too, every lady reads a little, and there is more variety and information in every class than there was fifty years ago. About the year 1740, a manufacturer of *long ells* or *twilled fustians* must have been rather a coarse-grained fellow. It is not among gentlemen of that description I would at present look for all that is delightful in manner and conversation, but they certainly run "finer" than they did, and are (to use their own phrase) a *superior article*.

The acquittal of Hone gave me sincere pleasure, because I believe it proceeded in some measure from the horror and disgust which excessive punishment for libel have excited, and if jurymen take this way of expressing their disgust, judges will be more moderate. It is a rebuke, also, upon the very offensive and scandalous zeal of Lord Ellenborough, and it teaches juries their strength and importance. In short, Church and King in moderation are very good things, but we have too much of both. I presume by this time your grief at the death of the Princess<sup>1</sup> is somewhat abated. Death in the midst of youth is always melancholy, but I cannot think it of the smallest political importance. I dread a popular

<sup>1</sup> Princess Charlotte.

## From Sydney Smith

King, because they are always popular from some low and pernicious art, and anything which weakens the power of the crown, seems to be a good.

I am very glad the Hollands have sent Henry from home; he is a very unusual boy, and he wanted to be exposed a little more to the open air of the world.

Poor Mackintosh,<sup>1</sup> I am heartily sorry for him, but his situation at Hertford will suit very well (pelting and contusions always excepted.) He should stipulate for *pebble money*, as it is there technically called, or an annual pension in case he is disabled by the pelting of the students!<sup>2</sup>

By the bye, might it not be advisable for the professors to learn the use of the sling (*Balearis habena*)? It would give them a great advantage over the students.

We are all perfectly well, with the usual January exceptions of colds, sore throats, rheumatism, and hoarseness.

I shall be in town in March and make some stay, but pray write to me before if you have any leisure.

Ever your sincere friend,

SYDNEY SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> Mackintosh was Professor of "General Polity and the Laws of England" in the European department of the East India College, Haileybury, from 1818 to 1824. He used to come down for his lectures on two days a week, and he occupied temporary rooms in the passage where Professor Johnson also had rooms close at hand. Here he often rehearsed his speeches for the House of Commons, and on one occasion after a splendid peroration, Johnson heard him finish with the comment, "The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid loud cheers from all parts of the House." ("Memorials of Old Haileybury College," pp. 203-4.)

<sup>2</sup> The College had been celebrated for its "rows" and disorder.



*From Rev. Sydney Smith to Mr. Whishaw.*

FOSTON, YORK, *April 13, 1818.*

MY DEAR WHISHAW,—I am very much obliged to you for your kind offer, I have, however, made numerous inquiries and believe I am tolerably well instructed in the ways of Westminster. If any of your friends have a son at Westminster who is a boy of conduct and parts, I should be much obliged to you to recommend Douglas to his protection. He has never been at school, and the change is greater, perhaps, than any other he will experience in his future life.

I entirely agree with you as to Brougham's crusade in Westmoreland. I believe he was very much piqued by Lord Lonsdale when the Whigs were in power, and his hatreds are not among the least durable of his feelings.

My astonishment was very great at reading Canning's challenge to the anonymous pamphleteer. If it were the first proof of this kind it would be sufficient to create a general distrust of his sense, prudence, and capacity for action. What sympathy can a wit by profession, a provoker and discoverer of men's weaknesses, expect for his literary woes?

What does a politician know of his trade whom twenty years has not made pamphlet-proof? In short, such an act of absurdity and madness I have never witnessed in my time. It far exceeds the fondest wishes of Job upon the subject of writing. I cannot form a guess who has written a pamphlet that could provoke Canning to such a reply. I should scarcely

## From Sydney Smith

suppose any producible person, but I have not read it, and am therefore talking at random.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This pamphlet was printed in 1818, and was suppressed the day after publication. It was entitled, "A Letter to the Right Hon. George Canning." It contained the most violent abuse of one of his speeches and denounced the utterer of it with the most furious invectives. When Canning read it, he wrote the following letter to the anonymous author, through the medium of the publisher:—

GLOUCESTER LODGE, *April* 10 [1818].

SIR,—I received early in the last week, the copy of your pamphlet, which you (I take for granted) had the attention to send to me.

Soon after, I was informed, on the authority of your publisher, that you had withdrawn the whole impression from him, with the view (as was supposed) of suppressing the publication. I since learn, however, that the pamphlet, though not sold, is circulated under blank covers. I learn this from (among others) the gentleman to whom the pamphlet has been industriously attributed [Sir Philip Francis], but who has voluntarily and absolutely denied to me that he has any knowledge of it, or of its author.

To you, sir, whoever you may be, I address myself thus directly, for the purpose of expressing to you my opinion, that you are a liar and a slanderer, and want courage only to be an assassin.

I have only to add, that no man knows of my writing to you; that I shall maintain the same reserve so long as I have any expectation of hearing from you in your own name; and that I shall not give up that expectation till to-morrow (Saturday) night.

The same address which brought me your pamphlet will bring any better safe to my hands. I am, Sir, Your humble servant,

GEORGE CANNING.

For the author of "A Letter to the Right Hon. George Canning."

(Mr. Ridgway is requested to forward this letter to its destination)

Of course no answer was returned. This pamphlet was generally ascribed to Mr. Hobhouse, and in 1820 Canning on a suppositious ground of injury, heaped scorn upon scorn on "the Honourable Baronet, Sir Francis Burdett and his *man*," and said that "in six months the demagogue admitted to this Assembly finds his level and shrinks to his proper dimensions" ("Life of George Canning," by R. Bell, pp. 275-6).

If the Hollands keep Ampthill I should doubt if they will be any richer for their legacy. The temptation I admit to be great, but they ought to resist it.

Our excellent friend Philips appears to be somewhat hasty upon the subject of the spy in the chaise drawn by the warriors, but his conduct was very manly and respectable in advocating the cause of the Democrats, who, by their knavery and folly, are very contemptible, but are not therefore to be abandoned to their oppressors.<sup>1</sup>

I have been fighting up against agricultural difficulties, and endeavouring to do well what I am compelled to do, but I believe the first receipt to farm well is to be rich. Soon after May 12th I hope to see you, and shall be happy to converse with you on the subject of our poor friend's<sup>2</sup> papers, though the general leaning of my mind is to leave his name where it now stands upon its political base.

Of Hallam's labour and accuracy I have no doubt, but he has less modesty than any man I ever saw, and with talents of no very high description is very apt to attempt things much above his strength, and is wholly without any measure of himself. I like and respect Hallam as much as you do; his success will surprise me but please me very much. This opinion I write in confidence. I remain, my dear Whishaw,

Ever most truly yours, SYDNEY SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> On March 5, 1818, George Philips had brought forward a motion for enquiry into the conduct of *spies* and *informers*, and a long debate ensued. It was defeated by 69 votes to 62. Mr. Philips had previously stated that a spy of the name of *Dewhurst* had been carried to General Byng in that officer's carriage, but he now acknowledged that the statement was incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Horner.

## From Lady Mackintosh

*From Lady Mackintosh to Mr. Whishaw.*

*No date.*

DEAR MR. WHISHAW,— \* \* \* I was very glad to find by the papers last night that all was quiet at Constantinople four days after the account of the battle of Navarino had arrived there. Is it possible that Lord Grey means to head the opposition against his old friends, and that they are to make their first attack on the ground of this battle? I can't think it possible. How I should have liked Lord Lansdowne to have been in Lord Goderich's place.<sup>1</sup> How came that not to be? When, months before Canning was Prime Minister, Lord L. was talked of for that place, though Lord G. never, though no doubt a very able man. If *that* friend had been in his place I should have confidently looked for the salvation of Ireland, which I verily believe is necessary to the *stability* of England. But there is surely some fatality attending that unhappy country, and every measure in regard to it. Can Lord Anglesey be thought a good Governor for it in its diseased and wretched state? Is he not a man, from the irregularity of his passions and his stern temper, likely enough to introduce triangles and tortures and all the etceteras of that iniquitous Government which we were obliged to cover with a Bill of Indemnity? What I have most interesting at this moment to tell you, I have kept to the last, because I should not have been able to have written on any subject afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Goderich resigned on January 9, 1828, owing to differences with his colleagues as to Admiral Codrington's action at Navarino. He was succeeded by the Duke of Wellington.

We had last night from my sister <sup>1</sup> the melancholic intelligence of poor M. de Staël's <sup>2</sup> death ; she and I Sismondi are quite overwhelmed with grief, and never was any loss so mourned. His gentleness and kindness of disposition and temper, his upright views and generous feelings on public questions, formed altogether a most endearing character. His unhappy wife near her confinement. As she had the greatest admiration of her excellent husband, her affliction and that of the Duke and Duchess of Broglie will be very great.

I wish you would have the kindness to send this sad account to Mr. Brougham from me. I am sure he will feel for him, who admired England so much. You will direct your next to Ampthill, from whence it will be forwarded to me.

Ever most sincerely yours,

C. M.

<sup>1</sup> Madame Sismondi.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Madame de Staël.

## From Hallam

*From Mr. Hallam to Mr. Whishaw.*

ROME, April 28, 1828.

MY DEAR WHISHAW,—Murray's apologies would be more satisfactory if I could reconcile them with the rest of his behaviour. But he has not written to me, though he evidently told you that he would do so; and under all the circumstances this is really an unparalleled neglect. Were it a mere matter of business as to the publication of the octavo edition and the sale of the present, I might expect to be consulted by my publisher; much more by a person who professes to value my acquaintance, after what he admits himself, gives me a strong *prima facie* ground of complaint against him. I am also much dissatisfied at the delay in printing the second edition. It was commenced as early as last April; and Taylor had the whole corrected copy in his hands before I left England in August. It is plain that Murray must purposely have checked him. Pray do not give yourself so much trouble about my affairs as to correct the proofs; this ought not to be required if the printer is tolerably careful; and I shall arrive in England in time, I hope, to put forth the edition early in the summer. What you tell me of M.'s subjection to Lockhart had occurred to me, and is probably in great part true; though I can hardly think he can have lost the power of remonstrance in such a case as the present. This is like what sometimes happens in the management of private property, a weak man employs a very cunning one, and ends by being in the power of his own agent. Murray took Lockhart just as you

would take your servant, though probably with a worse character ; it was one of his very silly speculations, and he expected wonders from the support of Scott. I believe, however, that the *Review* is declining, and such articles as Southey's will not restore it. I shall certainly (unless my friends in England advise the contrary) limit myself to a few pages prefixed to the second edition. From some expressions of yours, I judge that others as well as the *Quarterly* reviewers take exception to some of my opinions. These, I presume, are almost entirely ecclesiastical objections, for I think real Tory doctrines do not at all prevail among the laity. I have not the slightest alarm about my ultimate success. The slow sale I attribute chiefly to the high price, which was owing to Murray, and to the general expectation that an octavo edition would be published. I had calculated that by far the greater part of the quarto edition of my former work must be in private libraries, and that the owners would wish to add the present in the same form, but probably the book clubs had taken a larger proportion than I had supposed.

Guizot, I am told, is translating the whole work with notes, which I hold no slight honour. I am also reviewed in a new journal, *La Revue Universelle*, so that I really have much more honour out of my country than in it. I am sorry for Macaulay's inability to finish his critique, which would better have fallen to Empson.

Nothing could give me more unexpected pleasure than the repeal of the Test Act, chiefly as it most essentially affects the Catholic question. I believe

## From Hallam

some of the bishops, &c., fancy they shall now have a stronger support of the dissenters on that point ; but it is evident that the Houses see it differently. They are aristocratic assemblies, and have always had a greater dislike, if not a greater jealousy, of the dissenters than of the others.

I am, in somewhat a less degree, but still very much delighted with the Manchester Bill.<sup>1</sup> This House of Commons is really an excellent one. I fear, however, that the present Cabinet will be as little able to master the Tories in one House as the Whigs in another. This is, I expect, the opening of a new era in our Constitution, and of such a collision between the aristocratic and popular parties as has hitherto been prevented by the strength of Government. A strong Government we neither have nor shall again see—at least, unless more commanding talents should appear than seem to be producible at present. The Corn Law is, on the other hand, a complete triumph of the aristocracy, and makes Huskisson pass *sub jugo*.

Foreign affairs are, as you say, immensely embarrassing ; but I cannot blame Canning about Portugal.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the present men, by giving way to Miguel's usurpation, have exchanged an ancient ally

<sup>1</sup> The Manchester Bill, 1828, was for transferring from the borough of Penryn in Cornwall to the town of Manchester the right of returning two members to Parliament. Under the auspices of Lord John Russell it passed through the Commons, but was negatived without a division in the Lords on June 20, 1828.

<sup>2</sup> In 1824 the King of Portugal had applied to England for assistance. Canning was unwilling to send troops to Lisbon, but thought a squadron might be sent to the Tagus ; by this means he frustrated the *coup d'état* planned by Don Miguel, the son of the Queen of Spain.



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for an interested enemy, and lowered the dignity of Britain all over Europe. Perhaps they could have done nothing, which I own seems rather a military question; for if we were strong enough, I really think we should have been warranted in seizing the persons of Miguel and his mother; and yet I am much for the law of nations, and did not like the Greek treaty, as I have told you before. As it is we must not dream of interfering against Russia. Perhaps the duty of her possessing Constantinople has been overrated, as dangers from abroad usually are. Her Empire is already unwieldy, and if a younger branch should reign in Turkey, as will probably be preferred, it may not in the long run be injurious to the rest of Europe. At all events we cannot prevent it without exciting a war that may be almost as long as the last.

Yours most truly,  
H. H.

*From Mr. Hallam to Mr. Whishaw.*

MUNICH, *June 2*, 1828.

MY DEAR WHISHAW,—I was not without hopes of finding a letter here from you, but you have really been so very kind in writing frequently and fully that I shall have felt almost ashamed of the trouble I caused you.

I received one at Florence, and thank you for the information it contained. English politics seem to be in a strange state, and this resignation of Huskisson, of which the newspapers have been so full, must totally unsettle the hopes of the Government. I

## From Hallam

expect to find a good deal of depression as to the prospects of the country, which, in truth, are far from encouraging, though our stockholders seem to act as if they thought the contrary; yet I cannot help hoping that the Catholic question is in a more favourable wind than it has hitherto been. It seems evidently impossible to form a Cabinet possessing general confidence, or with any tolerable union among its Ministers, until this important point is settled. Whatever might have been done by the established influence of Lord Liverpool, no other man will hold together a set of persons pledged to the most opposite opinions on a subject perpetually varying, and a merely anti-Catholic Ministry could not probably exist long. Except those already on the stage, there are no men of the least eminence to take up that side. Meanwhile, the delay is so mischievous that, when at length the concession is made, it will perhaps do far less good than its advocates anticipated, and certainly will not prevent now, whatever it might have done at the Union, a struggle against the preponderance of the Irish Church. I fear, indeed, that the original wrong of that establishment against the wishes and wants of the people, like West Indian slavery, cannot be atoned by any reparation that we know how to make. Though in both instances, I am too timid a politician not to acquiesce in the convenient maxim, *Fieri non debuit, factum valet*. As to the repeal of the Test, it is only good if it tends to the relief of the Catholics, as I think it must; for if the latter perceive that they alone are prohibited as an odious class, while the abstract principle of Church

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ascendancy is given up, it can only exasperate the to fury, and turn the question still more into a the logical one than it has most absurdly been made present.

Very truly yours,  
H. HALLAM.

## From Lady Mackintosh

*From Lady Mackintosh to Mr. Whishaw.*

CHÈNE, Nov. 12, 1829.

DEAR MR. WHISHAW,—You were the only English person I sought in Paris, and I was sorry not to find you. I looked out for you in the sunny part of the garden of the Thuilleries which they call "Provence," as the only place in which I had any hopes of meeting you. I lodged latterly at a hotel facing the gardens of the Luxemburg, where there was no chance of finding you. Yesterday we dined and talked much of you with your friend Madame Achard. I was glad to see the interior of a Swiss family *en famille*, for days of state are the same, or nearly so, in every country and house, and I was pleased to see a pretty little girl placed in a vacant seat at the bottom of the table, break a glass with the best grace imaginable without having her nerves in the least way affected by the accident, as it was a proof how tenderly she had been brought up.

I saw no person of any consequence in Paris but the celebrated Abbé Grégoire,<sup>1</sup> who in his 84th year is a most remarkable person, and seems as if he were waiting for another Revolution. Whatever he really was in the last, he seems now to be purified into an

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Blois, b. 1750, d. 1831. Was among the first of the clergy to swear fidelity to the Constitution. He distinguished himself in the Constituent Assembly by the boldness of his opinions regarding both civil and religious liberty. During the Reign of Terror he stood forward as the supporter of religion. He opposed the accession of Napoleon. On the restoration of the Bourbons he was excluded from the Institute and deprived of his bishopric. He was the author of many historical and political essays.

excellent man. But the occasion of my renewed acquaintance with him was not on account of his talents or virtue, but of that of an intemperate sally of mine towards him when we visited Paris during the Peace of Amiens, which he might well have taken for a singular impertinence in such a one as myself. He seemed to have forgotten my offence, but I never have, through all the years that have succeeded it and I have been as much gratified by his forgiveness as by his conversation.

The Marquis de Lafayette was coming to call on me the day I changed my lodgings from the Hôtel Britannique to that of the Luxemburg, owing to which I am afraid I lost seeing him. He is infinitely more talked of, and I believe more thought of, than Charles X. or any of his family. They might still be at Hartwell for any sensation that their presence at Paris occasions. The very people that crowd the Gardens of the Thuilleries seem not to know whether they are there or not, till they look up to see if the white flag is waving.

From the appearance of the ill-looking men, of by no means the lower sort, which gather in knots all over the gardens and galleries of the Palais Royal, calling for and seeming to devour with intense interest the Opposition papers, one might augur anything but a peaceful parliamentary session in Paris, and some pains are said to be taken on the pretence of the Hall of Chamber of Deputies wanting repairs to prevent its meeting at all; at any rate, I think your session of Parliament is likely to be more quiet. Since the *Times* has absconded from the popular and generous

## From Lady Mackintosh

side in foreign politics, it is in vain to think of its being upheld to any purpose in or out of Parliament. You may easily imagine how the conduct of the English Government is reprobated here and generally through the Continent. Nothing is more worthy, certainly, of astonishment than its conduct for the last two years, without it is that of the Russian Emperor's moderation. But it is too early perhaps to write of these matters, some lovers of liberty and the human race may yet get up in both your Houses of Parliament, if it meets soon enough, to advocate these sound causes, and prevent the countries which have just been emancipated from being thrown back into the hands of the cruel and treacherous Mahomed, whom the *Times* is pleased to designate as *unfortunate* only.

At this distance from London I was rejoiced to see announced and praised the pamphlet of Mr. Gally Knight,<sup>1</sup> which the *Times* so unwillingly praises, the quotations from which is the only part of it I have yet seen.

It is a great pity that some of our distinguished young Englishmen were not here this autumn to make a conquest of a Mademoiselle Klustine, a young Russian lady of high rank and great fortune and still more remarkable accomplishments, whose conversation bewitched all the learned professors here.

You have heard, of course, of the noble offer of M. Eynard, on the refusal of the French of the Greek

<sup>1</sup> Henry Gally Knight, a country gentleman of great wealth and still remembered for his works on architecture, published a letter to Lord Aberdeen on his foreign policy. His "Oriental Tales" exposed him to the satiric strokes of Byron.

loan, to advance the whole of the money himself, if the French Government would allow him the means of transporting it. How such an instance of generosity makes one long to be rich!

Did you observe the remarkable advertisement in the French papers, about a month ago, as coming from a person who was the next heir to a great personage; which was said at Paris to be from a daughter of the late Duke and Duchess of Orleans who was exchanged immediately after her birth for a male child, the present Duke? I was much struck by it, as it seemed a facsimile of the story current about the Duke of Devonshire.

I heard since I came here an anecdote about our lamented friend Dumont which gave me great consolation on his account, and is calculated to give pleasure to all who tenderly regret him, as we and so many others do. When he made his will, three years ago, he began it by thanking the Almighty for his long and happy life, which had been alternately cheered by the delights of study and by constant intercourse with so many beloved friends. Tell Miss Fox of this, with kind remembrance at little Holland House.

Our best wishes attend you.

Ever yours,  
C. M.

## From J. L. Mallet

*From Mr. J. L. Mallet to Mr. Whishaw.*

MALVERN, *Sept. 8, 1831.*

MY DEAR WHISHAW,—The *Times* has taken up some clauses of the Reform Bill, the division of counties, and the giving votes to the tenants-at-will who occupy land or houses of the value at least £50 a year, with an extraordinary degree of violence, and has done its best to damage the whole measure in public opinion. I do not know a more capricious and unprincipled paper. The Bill, however, proceeds, and will get through the Commons in the early part of the ensuing week, and the quiet manner in which it has gone through the Commons (at least this session) is mainly due to Lord Althorp's admirable temper and quiet good sense. He received last week a most flattering tribute of respect as to the conciliatory manner in which he had conducted the discussions from Peel and Wynne and several other members.

I am not sure that Brougham's transference to the other House, notwithstanding his superiority and great talents, has been advantageous on the whole : and I am afraid that his sarcastic manner and Lord Grey's irritable disposition will prove very formidable circumstances in the Lords : irritate the Opposition, and irritate the public against the Peers. Not a word calculated to excite angry feelings has escaped Lord Althorp.

You will see the list of the Commissioners who are to report on the division of counties, and on the districts to be allotted to boroughs. Abercromby is at



the head; Gilbert,<sup>1</sup> Littleton,<sup>2</sup> and, very odd to say, Hallam are three of the principal persons; John Romilly, young Ord, Bellenden Ker, young Drinkwater,<sup>3</sup> are among the members: I do not know, but it appears to me that Bentham's laboratory and the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge have furnished no inconsiderable quota.

Speaking of Bentham, there was a letter from him in the *Courier* newspaper some days ago animadverting on a criticism in the *Spectator* on Bowring's<sup>4</sup> report on French finances. I had suggested to Huskisson, when he was Secretary of State, some enquiry on this subject, and it appears from Bentham's letter that he followed it up, and that when at Paris he had endeavoured to get some information as to French accounts. But, says Bentham, "Huskisson was all stiffness, haughtiness, coldness, and repulsive, and did not succeed. Bowring is all attractive."

There is a pamphlet of Senior's on the subject of Irish affairs, particularly with reference to the Poor Laws, which I have not seen, but which has been

<sup>1</sup> Davies Gilbert, M.P., of Cornwall.

<sup>2</sup> First Lord Hatherton.

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Drinkwater Bethune, well-known counsel to the Home Office and member of the Supreme Council.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Bowring (1792-1872), an intimate friend of Bentham. In 1828 was appointed Commissioner for reforming the system of keeping public accounts. His appointment was cancelled by the Duke of Wellington. In 1831 was associated with Sir H. Parnell in the duty of examining and reporting on the public accounts of France, and appointed Secretary of the Commission for inspecting the accounts of the United Kingdom. This Commission was the oundation of all the improvements since made. ("Dic. Nat. Biography.")

## From J. L. Mallet

a good deal read and animadverted on in the *Times* and *Chronicle*, both of which papers will hear of nothing but Poor Laws. Senior has severely criticised Dr. Doyle's evidence and publications, which are chiefly remarkable for eloquent declamations and mistaken philanthropy ; and no doubt the Doctor will reply and lay it on the economists. The most unexpected part of Senior's panacea for Ireland is the decapitation of the Irish Church and the transferring of the revenues of five or six sees to the support of the Catholic clergy. This coming from Oxford has made people stare ; and Stanley took an early opportunity of protesting in the House against the appropriation of any of the revenues of the Church to any save Church purposes.<sup>1</sup>

I am always truly yours,

J. L. MALLET.

<sup>1</sup> This refers to Senior's "Letter to Lord Howick on a legal provision for the Irish poor, commutation of Tithes and a provision for the Irish R.C. Clergy." In it he suggests that eighteen out of twenty-two existing sees should be suppressed. Dr. Doyle was the R.C. Bishop of Kildare who wrote under the initials J. K. L., in support of a legal provision for the poor.

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*From Rev. Sydney Smith to Mr. Whishaw.*

COMBE FLORY, *Aug. 26, 1840.*

MY DEAR WHISHAW,—I read the death of the Bishop of Chichester<sup>1</sup> with sincere regret; a thoroughly good and amiable man, and as liberal as a bishop is permitted to be. I am much obliged to you for mentioning those circumstances which marked his latter end, and made the spectacle less appalling to those who witnessed it.

Modest Milnes<sup>2</sup> has been here, and left a deep impression of his diffidence on us all; to him succeeded our friend Mrs. Grote, who is now here and very agreeable.

I send you by this post my letter to the Bishop of London. It will not escape you that the "King of Clubs" was long in a state of spiritual destitution, as were the *Edinburgh* reviewers—all except me.

Mrs. Sydney is much better than she was this time last year. The ventilation she got at Brighton still continues to minister to her health.

I am scarcely ever free from gout, and am still more afflicted with asthma, but keep up my spirits and laugh a good deal. I am truly glad to hear such good accounts of your health, and

Remain, dear Whishaw,

Ever sincerely and affectionately yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Otter.    <sup>2</sup> R. Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton).

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE "KING OF CLUBS"

BY W. P. COURTNEY

THIS celebrated society is frequently mentioned in the lives of the Whig politicians who flourished in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Very little, however, has been known of its history, but from a manuscript volume, now in the possession of Mr. Cosmo Romilly, many fresh particulars may be obtained. Its faded pages are a register of dry facts connected with the elections to the Club and the dinners of which the members partook. The entries in it after 1804, the date of his election, seem to have been made by Sydney Smith, then living at 18, Orchard Street, and at a later date by Whishaw.

The Club was instituted in February, 1798. Its name was suggested by "Bobus" Smith, and it was founded at a party given at the house of Sir James Mackintosh. The original members were Rogers, Sharp, "Bobus" Smith, Scarlett, Allen, and Mackintosh. The members on April 27, 1799, were—

\*Porson, Richard.

\*Courtney, John.

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- \*Smith, Robert.
- \*Rogers, Samuel (resigned at close of 1808).
- \*Sharp, Richard.
- \*Scarlett, James.
- \*Mackintosh, James.
- \*Butler, Charles.
- \*Tennant, Smithson.
- \*Edwards, Bryan.
- \*Richardson, Joseph.
- Allen, John (of Cresselly, Pembrokeshire). His second daughter was the wife of Mackintosh another was Madame Sismondi, and two other sisters were married to Josiah and John Wedgwood.
- \*Humphreys, James.
- \*Marsh, Charles.
- Dickinson, William (of King's Weston, Somerset, and M.P. for the county).
- Whishaw, John.
- Wedgwood, Josiah [the younger].

The names of the members joining after that time and the dates of election are—

- |                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| 1799, May 25.   | Dumont, Etienne Louis (of Geneva ; lived many years in England ; <i>d.</i> 1829).  |
| December 28.    | *Holland, Lord.  |
| 1800, March 29. | Moore, George (probably George Moore of Moore Hall, Co. Mayo, who married a grand-daughter of the first Earl of Altamont). |

## The “ King of Clubs ”

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| 1800, March 29.    | Creevey, Thomas, M.P. (the diarist).                                |
| 1802, January 29.  | *Petty, Lord Henry, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne.                |
| March 26.          | *Romilly, Samuel (afterwards Sir Samuel).                           |
| 1802, April 10.    | *Smith, William, M.P.   |
| June 25.           | *Horner, Francis.   |
| 1804, December 17. | *Smith, Rev. Sydney.  |
| December 17.       | Boddington, Samuel (probably partner in business of Richard Sharp). |
| December 22.       | *Ward, Hon. J. W., afterwards Lord Dudley.                          |
| 1805, April 27.    | Wedgwood John (resigned at close of 1808).                          |
| May 25.            | *Brougham, Henry.   |
| 1806, May 31.      | *Drummond, Rt. Hon. William.  |
| 1807, February 28. | Philips, George (afterwards Sir George Philips, Bart.).             |
| March 28.          | *Selkirk, Earl of.  |
| April 25.          | *Elmsley, Rev. Peter.   |
| December 19.       | Hoppner, James (of Charles Street).                                 |
| 1808, February 27. | *Lamb, Hon. William (afterwards Viscount Melbourne).                |
| July 23.           | *Abercromby, James (afterwards Baron Dunfermline).                  |
| December 31.       | *Baring, Alexander (afterwards Lord Ashburton).                     |
| 1809, May 27.      | Cowper, Earl.   |
| 1810, April 28.    | *Luttrell, Henry,   |

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1811, April 27.	*Knight, Richard Payne.
1811, May 25.	*Jeffrey, Francis.
May 25.	*Kinnaird, Lord.
1812, April 4.	*Malthus, Rev. T. R.
November 28.	Fleming, Dr.
1813, January 30.	Townshend [Rt. Hon.] Lo John, M.P. (b. 1757, 1833).
1814, July 16.	*Lamb, Hon. George.
1816, April 6.	*King, Lord.
1817, March 1.	*Playfair, Mr. (Professor, Edinburgh).
June 7.	*Ricardo, David.
1819, February 6.	Blake, William, of Portla Place (probably Willia Blake of Danesbury, Her from 1820; F.R.S. 180 Sheriff of Herts 1836; Danesbury, Nov. 24, 18 aged 78).
1820, April 1.	*Hallam, Henry.
1821, February 3.	*Denman, Thomas (afterwar Lord Denman).

The asterisk denotes a memoir in the D.N.B.

The annual subscription was originally £2 2s. dropped in 1804 to £2, but in 1808 was raised £3 3s. From 1810 onwards the subscription was fixed at £3, and each member when dining paid 10s. 6 extra. In 1802 the club met monthly at the "Crown and Anchor" in the Strand. For many years the dinners were held at the Freemasons' Tavern, the li

## The "King of Clubs"

meeting there being on July 3, 1819. They met on February 7, 1820, at Grillion's Hotel, in Albemarle Street, and dined there for the last time on February 3, 1821. The next gathering was at the Clarendon Hotel, on March 6, 1821. The price of the dinner became a guinea for each person, exclusive of wine and wax-lights, the charge for the latter item being invariably 21s. for the evening. About a dozen persons dined at each meeting, and they drank from six to twelve bottles of wine. Champagne never appears in the list of wines. Claret was the popular drink, and on one occasion five bottles were supplied at a charge of £3 2s. 6d., *i.e.*, 12s. 6d. per bottle.

When Thomas Campbell returned to London from Altona in April, 1801, he received an invitation from Lord Holland to dine at the "King of Clubs." "Thither with his lordship," says the poet in his diary, "I accordingly repaired, and it was an era in my life. There I met in all their glory and feather, Mackintosh, Rogers, the Smiths, Sydney, and others. In the retrospect of a long life, I know no man whose acuteness of intellect gave me a higher idea of human nature than Mackintosh; and, without disparaging his benevolence—for he had an excellent heart—I may say that I never saw a man who so reconciled me to hereditary aristocracy as the benignant Lord Holland."

Horner dined with them on April 10, 1802, and inserted in his journal a long description of the proceedings: "The company consisted of Mackintosh, Romilly, Whishaw, Abercromby, Sharp, Scarlett, &c. Robert ["Bobus"] Smith is not yet come to town.



## The "King of Clubs"

The conversation was very pleasing; it consisted chiefly of literary reminiscences, anecdotes of authors, and criticisms of books, &c. I had been taught to expect a very different scene—a display of argument, and all the flourishes of intellectual gladiatorship which, though less permanently pleasing, is for the time more striking. This expectation was not answered; partly, as I am given to understand from the absence of Smith, and partly from the presence of Romilly, who evidently received from an unaffected deference, and imposed a certain degree of restraint. I may take notice of one or two particulars, which struck me as the characteristic defects of this day's conversation. There was too little present activity; the memory alone was put to work, no efforts of original production, either by imagination or the reasoning powers. All discussion of opinion were studiously avoided. . ."

It was resolved in 1808 "that no person introduced as a stranger to the Club unless recommended by four members," and that "in future the Club be confined to thirty members residing in England." The visitors in 1815 included M. De Camille and Dr. Marcet. In 1816 Ricardo was a guest and on June 7, 1823, Professor Smyth came as visitor. On July 29, 1812, when Scarlett presided over the meeting, it was agreed, on the motion of Samuel Romilly, seconded by Mr. Whishaw, that members resident in the country should not be liable to pay the annual subscription. Scarlett was a chairman on March 1, 1817, when "it was proposed by Sir James Mackintosh that a copy of a picture

## The "King of Clubs"

the late Mr. Horner, a member of the Club, should be procured at the expense of the Club."

The last dinner recorded in this book was on June 7, 1823, when those present were Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Whishaw, Mr. Hallam, Lord Dudley, Mr. Blake, Mr. Lamb, Mr. Philips, Mr. R. P. Knight, Mr. J. Allen, Mr. Boddington, and Mr. Smyth as visitor. With that gathering the Club seems to have passed out of existence.

The reason for its death may perhaps be found in some reflections of Campbell. Many of the members were his warm friends, and as their guest he was present at several of their dinners. But the entertainment gradually palled upon him, and he analysed his feelings in a letter to one of his correspondents. "Much as the art and erudition of these men please an auditor at the first or second visit, the trial of minds becomes at last fatiguing, because it is unnatural and unsatisfactory. Every one of these brilliants goes there to shine, for conversational powers are so much the rage in London that no reputation is higher than his who exhibits them to advantage. Where every one tries to instruct there is, in fact, but little instruction. Wit, paradox, eccentricity, even absurdity if delivered rapidly and facetiously, takes priority in these societies of sound reason and delicate taste. I have watched sometimes the devious tide of conversation guided by accidental associations turning from topic to topic and satisfactory upon none. What has one learnt? has been my general question. The mind, it is true, is electrified and quickened, and the spirits are finely exhilarated.

## The “ King of Clubs ”

but one grand fault pervades the whole institution—their inquiries are desultory, and all improvement to be reaped must be accidental.”

If Campbell's conclusions were correct this combination of wits died from excessive brilliancy. Fortunately for the prolongation of their existence, most London clubs are not at this time composed of such material.

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